

A Biography of The Prophet of Islam

**In the Light of the Original Sources
An Analytical Study**

Volume 1

by

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Publisher's Note

Darussalam feels proud to present another book on the life of the Prophet ﷺ. He was the most outstanding person that the world has seen. He was a religious guide, a social and moral reformer, a political visionary, a military general, and an administrator who founded a state, built a nation and established a dynamic society to usher in a new philosophy of human thought, action and behavior. Moreover, he accomplished all these in a short period of only twenty-three years. There is no human in history who contributed to humanity so much in such diverse fields, as did the Prophet ﷺ.

Although there have been other Prophets in the past who contributed their share to the world, but as they were sent to particular nations or geographical regions, we find no traces of them as regards details of their lives and teachings, the time and place of their birth, and details about the exact impact they produced on the human society. This is not the case with the Prophet ﷺ. We know about his birth, childhood, the latter days until he got married, the beginning of his mission, the difficulties he faced, his migration, his success, have all been fully and accurately documented and preserved for the rest of the time.

Today, after more than 1400 years, details of the life, manners, actions and teachings of the Prophet ﷺ are available without any loss, alteration or modification. They offer the same light for treating the many ills of our times as in the past, but in fact acquire greater importance in view of new dimensions to human suffering because of the wrong policies of those countries that consider themselves above the Law. The United Nations and other bodies that were set up to secure the rights of the wronged are being manipulated to oppress weaker nations, resulting in untold sufferings, and desperate acts on the part of the victims.

The Prophet ﷺ had also made a body to secure the rights of the oppressed, but it was not a window dressing. It was a grand success for the honesty behind it. In the words of Prof. Hurgonje, "The League of Nations founded by Prophet of Islam put the principle of

international unity of human brotherhood on such universal foundations as to show candle to other nations. The fact is that no nation of the world can show a parallel to what Islam has done towards the realization of the idea of the League of Nations." George Bernard Shaw said, "If Muhammad were alive today, he would succeed in solving all those problems which threaten to destroy human civilization in our times."

Let us study the life of the Prophet ﷺ whose teachings and examples can change our lives, our thinking, our behavior and the whole world for the better. He is truly a Blessing for Mankind. May Allāh shower His blessings on him!

Abdul-Malik Mujahid
General Manager
Darussalam

Translator's Note

Historical personalities fade with time. But this is not true of the Prophet of Islam, on whom be peace. Our own times are witnessing a renewed interest in him, his character and his message. Written both by Muslims as well as non-Muslims, books continue to appear on him at a regular pace.

The work at hand is one of the most comprehensive ones of our times. It stands out in a few ways. First, every detail has been traced back to the original sources. Second, events of the Prophet's life have been related to modern times and lessons drawn for the benefit of those who happen to face similar situations in their struggle to spread the Islamic faith. The author's complete objectivity could be cited as another outstanding characteristic of the book. In contrast with the Western method - of judging a personality they struggle to come to terms with - Dr. Mahdi Rizqullah Ahmad meticulously chronicles the life as preserved by the earliest authorities, and leaves the reader to make his own judgment.

Except for the author's foreword, which has been considerably reduced in size, and which introduces source books and authors, the rest of the book has been translated in full. Subsequent to the publication of the work in Arabic (called, *As-Sirah An-Nabawiyah, fi Daw Al-Masādir Al-Asliyyah, Dirāsah Tahliliyyah*, Faisal Foundation, Riyadh, 1992), the author has continued to work and has produced some 56 pages of fresh material to be added to future publications. These pages, still in manuscript form, have been incorporated in this translation.

A word about the equivalents to the technical terms used by *Hadith* scholars is perhaps in order. To allow for fluency, I have substituted Arabic terms with words closest in English, not unaware that sometimes they can be misleading. For example, to render a *Da'if Hadith* as a 'weak report' is far from satisfactory. The term *Da'if* needs a lengthy definition. Not every *Da'if* report is untrustworthy.

Moreover, the connotation carried by the term 'weak' is sometimes not there in the original. This applies to several terms used in *Hadith* criticism. But the difficulty in using original Arabic terms is that they affect the flow. Therefore, terms such as 'Good' for *Hasan* reports, 'Disconnected' for *Mursal*, 'Suspended' or 'Discontinued' for *Mu'allaq* or *Mawquf*, 'Interrupted' for *Munqati'*, etc., have had to be employed. Where an easy rendering was not possible, the original was used. The reader will have to look into a work on *Hadith* Criticism to understand the exact implication of these various Arabic terms.

The translator has tried to retain the author's style of writing, but not at the cost of inaccuracy. The endeavor has been to give minimum possible idiomatic turn to his phrases and sentences.

This translation was originally done at the request of World Association of Muslim Youth, Eastern Province, Saudi Arabia (WAMY), who got it read by the author himself, and then by two other persons. Both the brothers preferred to remain anonymous, but offered some very good suggestions and are responsible in no small way for the improvements in the translation. In addition, the first chapter was read through by another anonymous person who also helped remove some defects. Finally, brother Ali Haider of Darussalam did the painstaking job of correcting, formatting and indexing work of the book. May Allah reward them all generously.

Brother Abdul-Malik Mujahid of Darussalam needs special mention for his personal interest and earnestness, which went above business considerations, without which this book would not have appeared in the present form. May Allah reward him amply; He is the best of those who reward.

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Preface

It has not been my endeavor to merely gather together under one title all the narratives that have come down to us concerning Prophet Muhammad ﷺ, but rather to present those that are fairly reliable for their authenticity. Reports not so reliable have only been used in matters not pertaining to the creed or law. The large number of footnotes was therefore necessary. They demonstrate that if a narrative reported in biographies or war chronicles did not meet with the strict conditions set by *Hadith* scholars, then, there were others that supported it, or which offered circumstantial evidences, thus elevating the narrative to the level of acceptance for historical purposes. They also demonstrate that if Muslim historians did not observe strict rules of acceptance or rejection that the *Hadith* scholars had set for themselves, then, at least they had strong grounds to report what they were reporting. [One might note in this connection that if the rules of acceptance and rejection commonly observed by the Muslim historians were applied to world historical writings, perhaps very little would remain to report—*Translator*.]

Objectives

The objectives for the study of the Prophet's life can be several. A few may be noted here.

1. It helps a Muslim apply to everyday life what he learns of the commandments and injunctions as contained in the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* (and as applied by the Prophet ﷺ to his own life).
2. Following the Prophet's example requires not a cursory, but a close study of the details of his life, manners, activities, etc., during different phases of his life. Allāh has said: "There is indeed for you in the Prophet a good example for him who hopes for

*Allāh and the Hereafter, and who remembers Allāh much.*¹

3. Following the Prophet's example in every detail of life is a sign of one's love of him. Allāh said: "Say: If you love Allāh, follow me, Allāh will love you."²
4. It helps learn about miracles and evidences that the Prophet ﷺ performed which go to prove his credibility and which in turn strengthens one's faith in him.
5. A thorough study of his life helps a person understand the Qur'ān better, having found how closely the two are related.

Sources

1. The Qur'ān

The Qur'ān, of course, is the first source for the biography of the Prophet ﷺ. It offers graphic details of various events of his life. Since the preservation of the Qur'ān in its pristine form is an indisputable fact, it lends credence to what is preserved in *Hadith* and history literature, which record the same events with greater details. However, to profit fully from the Qur'ān, one needs to deepen his or her understanding of it. This is largely obtained through the study of the type of commentaries that are known as *Tafasir bil-Mā'thur* (commentaries based on report). The *Tafsir* of Ibn Jarir Tabari is the leading commentary of this kind. Next comes that of Ibn Kathir, followed by Suyuti's *Ad-Durr Al-Manthur*.³

2. Hadith

Hadith scholars such as Imam Bukhāri, Muslim, Tirmidhi, or

¹ Surat Al-Ahzāb: 21.

² Surat Āl 'Imrān: 31.

³ See Dr. Fāruq Hamādah: *Masādirus-Siratin-Nabawiyah wa Taqwimuha*, pp. 34-35.

others offer us a lot of material on the Prophet's life, dealing with his daily activities, manners, personal qualities, details of battles, etc., under separate headings. But, materials pertaining to other details are spread far and wide in *Hadith* literature.⁴ Every collection of *Hadith* has some information or the other to offer, either directly or through implication. Then there are books written to describe the Prophet's personal qualities, habits, apparel, and several other things about his person — the class of books known as *Shamā'il*. In addition, there are works that deal specifically with his miracles or evidences of his authenticity as a Prophet. To get an idea of the vast amount of material available, one may cite the example of a single work: Ahmad bin Hanbal's *Musnad*. In the rearranged version of Sā'ātī, almost the entire volumes 13, 20, 21 and 22 are devoted to various aspects of the Prophet's life. We might remind that the *Musnad* alone has, depending on how they are counted, anything between thirty to forty thousand traditions.⁵

3. Biography Works and War Chronicles

These contain the bulk of material on the life of the Prophet ﷺ, especially the details. The first to enter the field were led by one of the Prophet's Companions: 'Abdullah bin 'Abbās. He was followed by such noted second-generation scholars as Sa'eed bin Sa'd Khazraji, Sahl bin Abu Hathmah Ansāri, 'Urwah bin Zubayr, Sa'eed bin Musaiyab, and several others. The second century of Islam saw an explosion of activities. Qāsim bin Muhammad bin Abu Bakr, Wahb bin Munabbih, Abul-Aswad, Musā bin 'Uqbah, Muhammad bin Ishāq, and several others dominated the field. By the third century of course, there were as many in the field as to need a whole volume to describe their activities.

⁴ We might point out here that *Hadith* collectors of the like of Bukhāri, Muslim, the rest of the six, Imam Ahmad, Hākim and others have made great contributions towards the preservation of details concerning the life of the Prophet ﷺ.

⁵ See *Musnad* (1/32-33), *Sharh li Ahmad Muhammad Shākir under Talāi' Al-Kitāb Al-Mis'ad Al-Ahmad fi Khatm Musnad Al-Imam Ahmad by Hāfiz Shamsuddin bin Jazari*.

Of the leading chroniclers of the third generation, the better known are Ibn 'Uqbah (parts of whose works were published by Edward Sachau along with German translation); Ibn Ishāq, a major portion of whose contribution is preserved in Ibn Hishām's work (edited by Dr. Hamidullah of India); and Wāqidi (whose work was published in three volumes by Marsdon Jones). Ibn Sa'd is another prolific writer who left behind him a massive work in seven volumes, of which the first and second volumes deal with the life of the Prophet ﷺ.⁶ Two volumes of Fizārī's *Siratur-Rasul* were recently discovered in the library of Qarawiyyin University, Morocco, and as edited by Dr. Fāruq Hamādah, are to appear shortly in print form. Quite a few of course both ancient and modern are still in manuscript form, spread in the libraries of the vast Islamic world.

Ibn Ishāq:

Of the above, perhaps the most famous is the work of Ibn Ishāq (d. 150 AH) entitled *Sirat Rasulullah*. His wide knowledge, sequential method of narration, and combination of several reports into one to offer a summary, are some of the reasons why he has been popularly read.⁷ The above are also the reasons for the popularity of Wāqidi and his pupil Ibn Sa'd,⁸ but Ibn Ishāq remains the more referenced.

A descendent of a freed slave of Iraq,⁹ Ibn Ishāq was brought up in Madinah where he joined the study circles of the leading scholars of the time. Some have questioned his dependability. One of the

⁶ See Ziyād Muhammad Mansur, *Muqaddimah*. His verification of *At-Tabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd, p. 51. Professor Ziyād has recounted several narratives that Ibn Sa'd took from his various masters.

⁷ See these points in Dr. Fāruq Hamādah, *Masādirus-Siratin-Nabawiyyah wa Taqwimuha*, pp. 71-72.

⁸ We might remember that Ibn Sa'd depended to a large extent on Wāqidi for his knowledge of the *Sirat*.

⁹ Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (7/321); Khatib Baghdādī: *Tārikh Baghdād* (1/214); Dhahabi: *Siyar A'lāmin-Nubalā'* (7/33).

reasons was that he was accused of being a Qadari.¹⁰ Imam Bukhāri for instance did not use his narratives except in hung reports.¹¹ However, men like Shu'bah bin Hajjāj, a major *Hadith* scholar of his time, treated him with great respect calling him *Amirul-Mu'minin fil-Hadith*. Yahya bin Ma'in, another great *Hadith* critic, declared him trustworthy. Yahya bin Sa'eed Qattān, Ahmad bin Hanbal, Yahya bin Sa'eed Ansāri, and several other scholars cleared him. Ibn Sayyidin-Nās¹² and Khatib Baghdādī¹³ have recorded for posterity all the opinions that were voiced about him.

However, that was about him in the field of *Hadith*, where very strict measures prevail. In biography and war chronicles, his mastery is acknowledged by consensus.¹⁴

His work's importance was enhanced by *Ibn Hishām* who abridged it and worked through only one of his sources: Bakkā'i.¹⁵

¹⁰ The Qadariyah say that Allāh's slaves carry out deeds that Allāh does not will and which Allāh has not decreed, such as, e.g., fornication, murder, etc. See 'Abdullah Sallum Sāmarrā'i: *Al-Ghulu wal-Firaqul-Ghāliyyah fil-Hadāratil-Islamiyyah*, p. 272.

¹¹ What is meant by a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report is the deletion of one or two narrators at the top. Sometimes this defect is clearly stated by the use of the term, "He said," but at other times not, rather by saying, "It is said." See Ibn Hajar: *Hadyus-Sāri*, ch. 4, p. 15 and what follows. For an example of the Suspended report, see Bukhāri/*Al-Fath* (15/141/The Book of Maghāzi)

¹² *Uyunul-Athar fi Funūnil-Maghāzi was-Siyar*, pp. 8-17.

¹³ *Tārikh Baghdād* (1/214-215).

¹⁴ See his life in biography works. The following have been my own books of reference: Ibn Sayyidin-Nās, studies of Dr. Salmān Hamud 'Awdah; Dr. Hamādah; Studies of Shaykh Muhammad bin Rizq Tarhuni.

¹⁵ He is Ziyād bin 'Abdullah bin Tufayl Bakkā'i 'Āmiri (d. 183 AH). Ibn Hajar said about him in his *At-Taqrīb*: "A reliable man in war chronicles. But his reports from other than Ibn Ishāq are not so reliable. Bukhāri has reported through him once." I might point out that Suhayli said (1/6): "This person, Bakkā'i, is reliable through whom Bukhāri reported in his *Kitābul-Jihād* while Muslim reported through him in several places. This should be enough to accept him. Sometimes Ziyād mentioned through Humayd Tawil. Bukhāri mentioned Waki' in his *Tārikh* and said, "Ziyād is more honorable than that he should lie."

He ignored not only non-Bakkā'i narratives, but also those which did not deal directly with the Prophet's biography, such as, e.g., poetry that was said by the Companions and others at the time important events took place.¹⁶

Wāqidi:

A resident of Baghdad (d. 207 AH), he was another writer who was distrusted by some but trusted by others in *Hadith*. Bukhāri, Rāzi, Nasā'i and Dāraqutni, for instance, considered him a pariah in *Hadith*. But Darāwardi, Yazid bin Hārūn, Abu Bakr San'āni, Ibrāhim Harbi¹⁷ and several others accepted his traditions. Ibn Sayyidin-Nās has gathered together all the opinions about him.¹⁸ And, once again, no one denies his dependability in biographical matters or war reports.¹⁹

What distinguishes him is his treatment of the subject. His narratives follow an organized and logical pattern. For example, when narrating the campaigns, he started with a list of all those who conveyed the reports. Then he mentioned one campaign after another, stating the dates, discussing the geography of the places, ending with after other details the passwords that the Muslims used in various battles.²⁰

Ibn Sa'd:

A Hāshimi (d. 207 AH), his full name was Muhammad bin Sa'd.

¹⁶ See Ibn Hishām, *As-Sirātun-Nabawīyyah* (1/36).

¹⁷ See Ibn Hajar: *Tahdhibut-Tahdhib* (9/364-365).

¹⁸ *Uyunul-Athar*, pp. 17-29.

¹⁹ See Ibn Tarhuni (1/24-29).

²⁰ For example, one of the code words of the Prophet ﷺ in one of his campaigns was *Amit*. Abu Dāwud recorded it, as also Dārimi in his *Sunan*, ch. 14; Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/46); Abu Shaykh in *Akhlaqun-Nabi*, p. 155. The Prophet ﷺ also said, "If you meet the enemy, your code word will be *Hā. Mim. La yunsarūn*. Abu Dāwud documented this in his *Sunan*, The Book of *Jihād*, no. 71; Imam Ahmad (4/65, 289); see Ibn Jawzi's *Al-Wafa'* as verified by Mustafa 'Abdul-Qādir 'Ata', p. 726, f.n. 28, 29 on report no. 1494, H. 1395.

He remained in Wāqidi's company for so long that he came to be known as his secretary. In fact, Wāqidi used to dictate to him. But that seems to have become his problem. For, he became unacceptable to those who distrusted Wāqidi. The most damaging opinion was of Ibn Ma'in who accused him of lying (in *Hadith* matters).²¹ Ziyād Mansur²² has mentioned the opinions of the critics and noted that Ibn Ma'in was a very severe critic.

It seems the critics did not have much against him, but rather against those from whom he reported. For example, Ibn Salah remarks, "He was himself trustworthy, but transmitted through untrustworthy narrators, such as Wāqidi."²³ Nevertheless, we find renowned scholars of *Hadith* such as Abu Hātim Rāzi, Dhahabi, or Ibn Hajar declaring him trustworthy. Further, if Ibn Sa'd's chains of narration had a few weak transmitters, it is nothing special to him. Several scholars of repute have also narrated through such transmitters.

4. Books on the Two Holy Harams

Books of this class also provide source material for the life of the Prophet ﷺ. One of the best and perhaps the most ancient is the one written by Abu Walid Muhammad bin 'Abdullah Azruqi (d. 250 AH). Another was by Fākihi (d. 280 AH) who wrote the history of Makkah and Madinah. Westfield's edited work lists Fākihi's additions to Azruqi's. 'Umar bin Shabbah (d. 262 AH) was another important contributor who wrote *Tārikhul-Madinah*. Ahmad Fāsi (d. 882 AH), originally of Morocco, who had migrated to Makkah, has two titles on the history of Makkah.²⁴

5. History Books

We are also indebted to general history works for providing

²¹ Khatib Baghdadi: *Tārikh Baghdad* (5/321).

²² *Muqaddimah* to his verification of *At-Tabaqātul-Kubra*, pp. 42-46.

²³ See Ibn Salah in *Muqaddimah Ibn Salah*, p. 599.

²⁴ See, Dr. Fāruq Hamādah, *Masādirus-Sirah*, pp. 78-79.

material for the life history of the Prophet ﷺ. The most extensive is that of Ibn Jarir Tabari (d. 310 AH) who wrote the massive *Tārikhul-Umami war-Rusuli wal-Muluk*. He was very knowledgeable in *Hadith*. He did not apply *Hadith* principles to historical matters. But of course, as he wrote in the preface to his work, "...we have presented here what was narrated to us."²⁵ (He means of course, by trustworthy people.)

Another historian, Khalifah bin Khayyāt 'Usfuri (d. 240 AH), actually preceded Tabari but his contribution is modest. He has around fifty pages on the Prophet's life in his *Tārikh* in which he took all the material from Ibn Ishāq, but only through two of his narrators: Bakr bin Sulaymān²⁶ and Wahb bin Jarir bin Hāzim.²⁷ 'Usfuri himself was a trustworthy transmitter of *Hadith*²⁸ of such caliber that Bukhāri reported through him, hence, his reports are better authenticated.

Balādhuri (d. 355 AH—*Futuhul-Buldān*), Ahmad bin Jafar bin Wahb (d. 292 AH—*Tārikh Ya'qubi*), Mas'udi (d. 346 AH—*Murujudh-Dhahab*) Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 AH—*Tārikh Dimashqul-Kabir*), Hafiz Dhahabi (d. 748 AH—*Tārikhul-Islam*), and Ibn Kathir (d. 774—*Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah*) are some of the major contributors of history works. These books of course contain both well authenticated as well unauthenticated reports.²⁹

6. Literary Works

Finally, we might point out that standard literary works too

²⁵ *Tārikh At-Tabari* (1/8).

²⁶ Bukhāri remained silent over it and Abu Hātim said, "He is unknown." See Bukhāri: *Tārikhul-Kabir* (2/90). And Ibn Abu Hatim: *Al-Jarhu wat-Ta'dil* (1/1/387).

²⁷ Wahb: He is a reliable *Hadith* scholar (d. 206 AH). See *Taqribut-Tahdhib*, p. 585. Jarir is also reliable in whose reports through Qatādah there is weakness. When he narrates through memory he commits errors, *At-Taqrīb*, p. 138.

²⁸ Dr. Fāruq Hamādah, *Masādirus-Sirah*, p. 81. Dr. 'Umari, *Muqaddimah* to his *Tārikh Ibn Khayyāt*, pp. 5-18.

²⁹ Dr. Fāruq Hamādah, *Masādirus-Sirah*, pp. 82-88.

provide some source material. Of the earliest is perhaps Jāhiz (d. 255 AH), who wrote *Al-Bayān wat-Tabyin* and *Al-Haywān*. Others have followed such as Mubarrad who wrote *Al-Kāmil*, or Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Qāsim Anbāri (d. 317 AH) who wrote *Al-Waqf wal-Ibtida' wal-Addād*. The best known of the later authors is perhaps Abul-Faraj Isfahāni (d. 356 AH) who wrote *Al-Āghāni*. However, most reports in these books are not well examined, nor the authors themselves were much concerned about this aspect. Abul-Faraj's work and personality have been much discussed. One might see Ibn Kathir in this connection.³⁰

³⁰ *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (11/294).

History of Makkah

Establishment of the City and its Development

Ibrāhim عليه السلام migrated from Iraq to Shām, then from there to Egypt carrying with him the message of One God.³¹ He was accompanied by his wife Sarah. She happened to be a beautiful woman. Now, it was the custom of the Egyptian ruler of the time that he took away every beautiful woman for himself. But Allāh ﷻ willed that he should not succeed with Sarah, rather, she should return from him with a slave-girl to serve her. That was Hagar, Isma'il's mother.³²

Sarah herself happened to be sterile. Moreover, Ibrāhim عليه السلام was getting old and his hair was turning gray. So she decided to gift the maid to him so that he could marry her in the hope that Allāh will bestow him progeny through her. Allāh willed that Hagar should bear him the first son. He named him Ismā'il.³³

Nevertheless, once Hagar had given birth to Ismā'il, Sarah was led to jealousy and vowed that she would cut her up into three

³¹ See Verse 120 of *Surat An-Nahl*: "Ibrāhim was indeed a model, devoted to Allāh, (a man) of pure faith, and not (at all) of the idolaters." His story of encounter with the idols and the pagans of his time is well-known. The Qur'ān spoke of it in several places, e.g., *Al-An'ām* (73-73), *Al-Anbiya'* (51-70), *Maryam* (46-48), *Al-Baqarah* (258-260) and *At-Tawbah* (26). As for his story of *Tawhid* in Makkah, see it in *Surat Ibrāhim* in Verses 37, 99-111 and in *As-Sāffāt* 102.

³² See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (13/134-135/H. 3358). See the details of her story in Ibn Hajar's commentary on this *Hadith*, pp. 134-137.

³³ See the report as a narrative of Ibn 'Abdul-Hakam: *Futūh Misr*, p. 12, through a Weak (*Da'if*) chain; and Azruqī: *Akhbār Makkah* (1/54). However Azruqī's chain is also *Da'if*.

pieces.³⁴ So Hagar fled with her husband. She tied to her waist a loin cloth that dangled at the rear wiping out her footprints. Ibrāhim led her and her child to a place known as Doha, close to where the Sacred House is, under a tree a little above the Zamzam spring. There was no Makkah then and no inhabitants.³⁵ There was no water either. He left with her a small sack containing some dates and a waterskin filled with water. As Ibrāhim turned to leave, Hagar followed him. She asked, "Where are you going, leaving us in this deserted place?" She repeated the question several times but he wouldn't turn to her. Finally she asked, "Has Allāh ordered you to do this?" He replied, "Yes." She said, "Then, surely He will not abandon us," and returned. Ibrāhim عليه السلام continued until when he was at mountain path, from where he couldn't be seen, he turned toward the place and prayed:

﴿رَبَّنَا إِنِّي أَسْكَنْتُ مِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِي بِوَادٍ غَيْرِ ذِي زَرْعٍ عِنْدَ بَيْتِكَ الْمُحَرَّمِ رَبَّنَا لِيُقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ فَاجْعَلْ أَفْعَدَةً مِنَ النَّاسِ تَهْوِي إِلَيْهِمْ وَارْزُقْهُمْ مِنَ الثَّمَرَاتِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَشْكُرُونَ﴾

"O our Lord. I have settled my progeny in an uncultivable valley near Your House, that they may, O our Lord, establish Your worship. So induce some people's hearts to incline to them, and provide them with fruits so that they may give thanks."³⁶

It wasn't too long before the water was exhausted. Both Hagar and her child were thirsty. It was especially painful for her to see the infant writhe his limbs in suffering. She climbed the nearest hill called Safa to see if she could spot someone. Not finding anyone, she lifted her robe a little and ran down across the length of the valley to climb another hill called Marwah to see if she could find a living soul. She didn't find anyone and ran between the hills several times.

³⁴ Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (13/141/explanation of H. 3364).

³⁵ Azruqi narrated (*Akhbar Makkah*, 1/54) through a Weak (*Da'if*) chain, that the 'Amāliq (a tribe in those days having big and strong bodies) used to live outside of it.

³⁶ See Verse 37 of *Surat Ibrāhim*.

(This, Prophet Muhammad ﷺ has told us is the origin of the *Sa'i* ritual in *Hajj* and *'Umrah*.) At the end of the seventh round, Jibril عليه السلام came down. He used either his heel or wing to locate the source of the Zamzam spring and dug until water began to sprout forth. Hagar hedged the springing water with some sand all around (in order not to let it flow off). As the level arose, she cupped her hands to collect it in her waterskin. The water kept coming up steadily. [The Prophet ﷺ commented, "May Allāh show mercy to Ismā'il's mother. Had she left it to itself (it would have continued to flow)."]³⁷ Or he said, "Had she not scooped, Zamzam would have been a sweet running spring."³⁷ She drank from it and continued to nurse her child. The angel told her, "Do not be afraid of at being abandoned. This is the House of the Lord. This child and his father will build it. Allāh does not abandon His slaves."

While she held to the place, one of the families of Jurhum tribe originating from the Qahtān of the Yemen happened to pass by. Discovering that water was available there, they sought her permission to settle down. She placed the condition that the spring will remain her property (although they could draw from it). They agreed and later sent for the rest of the tribe to come and join them. Hagar's child grew into a handsome young man. He had learnt Arabic from the tribe. He pleased them and as he grew up into manhood, they gave him one of their girls in marriage.³⁸

Ibrāhim عليه السلام visited them several times. Once he visited when Hagar was dead. Ismā'il عليه السلام wasn't around. His wife told him that he had gone out for an errand. When Ibrāhim asked her about how they managed to live, she began to complain of the hardship they faced. He left the message with her that when Ismā'il returned, she was to convey him his greetings and tell him to change the threshold of his house. When Ismā'il عليه السلام returned, his wife told him what had happened. From the details of the account he knew that it was his

³⁷ In a Bukhārī's transmission he said, "May Allāh show mercy to Ismā'il's mother, had not she been hasty, it would have been a spring."

³⁸ It is said that his first wife was from the 'Amāliq. See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (1/209).

father. He also understood what he meant by the message and divorced her to marry another woman. After some time Ibrāhīm (عليه السلام) once again visited them and once again missed Ismā'il. He asked his new wife about how they lived. She thanked Allāh for the providence He had bestowed on them. Ibrāhīm departed leaving the message that she was to convey to her husband his greetings and tell him to retain his threshold. Ismā'il knew that it was his father. He also understood the message and retained his wife.

After that Ibrāhīm (عليه السلام) stayed away quite a while to return and find his son behind Zamzam under a tree, repairing his arrows. The two met the way fathers and sons meet. Ibrāhīm asked him to help him in the construction of the House that Allāh (ﷻ) had ordered him to build. It was built on a raised spot close to Zamzam. Ismā'il (عليه السلام) fetched stones and Ibrāhīm built until the walls were high enough. Then they brought the stone known today as *Maqam Ibrāhīm* to use it as a footstep to stand on and continue raising the walls higher. The two were supplicating in words:

﴿رَبَّنَا نَقْبَلُ مِنْكَ أَنْتَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ﴾

"O our Lord! Accept from us, surely You are the Seeing, the Knowing." ^{39,40}

This however was not the first time that Ismā'il (عليه السلام) was helping his father in obedience of Allāh and execution of His Command. Earlier, when he was in his teens, Ibrāhīm (عليه السلام) had come down to Makkah following a dream in which Allāh revealed to him to sacrifice his son to Him. Ibrāhīm consulted him in words:

﴿يَبْنَىٰ إِنِّي أَرَىٰ فِي الْمَنَامِ أَنِّي أَذْبَحُكَ فَانْظُرْ مَاذَا تَرَىٰ﴾

"My son. I see in a dream that I am slaughtering you. So, what's your opinion?"

Ismā'il (عليه السلام) replied:

³⁹ Surat Al-Baqarah: 127.

⁴⁰ This story is reported by Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath (13/141-152/H. 3364-3365).

﴿يَتَأْتِ أَفْعَلْ مَا تُؤْمَرُ سَتَجِدُنِي إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ مِنَ الصَّابِرِينَ﴾

"My father. Go ahead and do as you are ordered. You will find me, Allāh willing, persevering and patient."

Ibrāhīm (عليه السلام) set out for Mina along with him to execute Allāh's Will. When he laid him face down with a knife in his hand his Lord called to him:

﴿يَا إِبْرَاهِيمُ ۖ قَدْ صَدَقْتَ الرُّؤْيَا﴾

"O Ibrāhīm. You have fulfilled the vision."

Allāh (ﷻ) replaced him with, as the Qur'ān said:

﴿وَفَدَيْنَهُ بِذَبِيحٍ عَظِيمٍ﴾

"And We ransomed him with a great sacrificial animal;" ⁴¹

i.e., with a fat ram. Ibrāhīm (عليه السلام) slaughtered it and the two, having demonstrated their total submission, won Allāh's approval. ⁴²

When the two had completed the construction of the House, Allāh ordered Ibrāhīm (عليه السلام) to announce for Hajj in words:

﴿وَأَذِّنْ فِي النَّاسِ بِالْحَجِّ يَأْتُوكَ رِجَالًا وَعَلَىٰ كُلِّ ضَامِرٍ يَأْتِينَ مِنْ كُلِّ فَجٍّ عَمِيقٍ﴾

"Proclaim to mankind the pilgrimage. They will come to you on foot and on every lean camel, traveling through every deep ravine." ⁴³

It is said that Ibrāhīm (عليه السلام) either climbed a rock or Mount Safa and called out in the Name of Allāh saying, "People. Allāh has got a House constructed for you, so, visit it in pilgrimage." Allāh (ﷻ)

⁴¹ See these Verses in the story of the slaughter and ransom in Surat As-Saffāt: 102-107.

⁴² See the commentary on these Verses in the books of commentary such as Zādul-Masir of Ibn Jawzi (7/71-72), Ibn Kathir (7/22-30).

⁴³ Surat Al-Hajj: 27.

relayed his voice to every living being and everyone who was destined to perform *Hajj*—until the Day of Judgment. And they replied, "At your service O Lord, at your service."⁴⁴

Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il supplicated to their Lord in the words of the Qur'ān:

﴿رَبَّنَا وَأَبْعَثْ فِيهِمْ رَسُولًا مِّنْهُمْ يَتْلُوا عَلَيْنَا ءَايَاتِكَ وَيُعَلِّمُهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَيُزَكِّيهِمْ إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ﴾

"O our Lord, send among them a Messenger from them to recite to them Your revelations, teach them the Book and the Wisdom, and purify them. Surely, You are the Most Powerful, the Most Wise."⁴⁵

Tabari⁴⁶ has said that this supplication was made especially for our Prophet Muhammad ﷺ. The Prophet ﷺ used to say, "I am the answer to the supplication of Ibrāhīm and the glad tiding pronounced by 'Isa."

Ismā'il ﷺ continued to live next to the Sacred House, by the side of his in-laws, the Jurhum among whom he had married, until Allāh commissioned him as a Messenger to them and those living in the Hijāz belt of the tribe of 'Amāliq and those of the Yemen.⁴⁷ Allāh said:

﴿وَاذْكُرْ فِي الْكِتَابِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ إِنَّهُ كَانَ صَادِقَ الْوَعْدِ وَكَانَ رَسُولًا نَّبِيًّا ٥٤﴾

"And recall in the Book Ismā'il. He was a truthful person and, a Messenger and a Prophet."⁴⁸

⁴⁴ See *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (5/410), it being what Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid, 'Ikrimah, Ibn Jubayr and others of the *Salaf* reported. Ibn Jarir brought it in (17/106-107), as also Ibn Abu Hātim, in detail, as said Ibn Kathir.

⁴⁵ *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 129. See its commentary in *Tabari* (3/82-88/Shākir)

⁴⁶ *At-Tafsir* (3/82/Shākir). Ahmad also narrated it in *Musnad* (4/127-128) and Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (2/616-617) with the same chain as Ahmad adding: "Sound (*Sahih*), on the conditions set by Muslim." Dhahabi agreed with him. I might add that its chain is Good (*Hasan*) because it is through Ibn Ishāq who was a *Mudallas* (dropped the immediate narrator above him).

⁴⁷ Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidāyah* (1/209), without a chain and hence Weak (*Da'if*).

⁴⁸ *Surat Maryam*: 54. Also see some more material on his prophethood in, e.g. *Al-Baqarah*: 136, *An-Nisa'*: 163.

He fathered 12 sons. Their names have been given by Ibn Ishāq from whom Ibn Kathir quotes.⁴⁹ The first two were Nābit and Qaydhār. Nābit was the one who was chosen to be the forefather of him who was raised in answer to the call of Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il (i.e., our Prophet ﷺ). However, the golden chain between Nābit and 'Adnān is lost. There were six of them in the chain. They all lived in Makkah. Yet, their names are not known. Nevertheless, the Prophet ﷺ specifically said that he was born in the line of 'Adnān. Beyond 'Adnān, there are several opinions about the identities.⁵⁰

When Ismā'il ﷺ died, he was buried in the Hijr area by the side of his mother's grave. It is said that he lived for 137 years. All those who lived in the Hijāz belt affiliated themselves either to Nābit or Qaydhār.⁵¹

It might also be pointed out here that the Ibrāhimic period is considered to be 1900 years before the appearance of Jesus ﷺ.⁵²

Constructions of the Ka'bah

The first construction is said to have been accomplished by the angels as stated by Azruqi.⁵³

The second construction was at the hands of Adam as reported by Bayhaqi⁵⁴ and others.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ *Al-Bidāyah* (1/208), without a chain and hence Weak (*Da'if*).

⁵⁰ See various opinions in this regard with Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārikh Dimashq*, pp. 36-53, Dhahabi: *Siratun-Nabawiyyah*, pp. 18-22.

⁵¹ Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (1/210), regarding the mention of Arabs, and (2/171-271) about the history of Makkah.

⁵² See Ahmad Susah: *Al-'Arab wa-Yahud fit-Tārikh*, Dimashq 1973, p. 232, and Muhammad Hasan Shirāb, *Al-Ma'alimul-Athirah fis-Sunnah was-Sirah*, p. 61.

⁵³ *Akhbār Makkah* (1/2). Also see Suhayli: *Ar-Rawd* (1/222-23) Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (13/144), Bayhaqi: *Ad-Dalā'il* (2/44).

⁵⁴ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (2/45); Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (13/144)

⁵⁵ See in this regard *As-Siratush-Shāmiyyah* (1/171). Shāmi said, "Ibn Abu Hātim, Ibn Jarir and Tabarāni recorded it, with broken chain as well as Azruqi, Abu Shaykh in *Al-'Azamah*, Ibn 'Asākir through Ibn 'Abbās. And,

The third construction was at the hands of Adam's progeny as reported by Azruqi⁵⁶ and others.⁵⁷ The report therein comes through Wahb bin Munabbih. Suhayli⁵⁸ however notes that the third construction was by Shith bin Adam.

The fourth construction was at the hands of Ibrāhim and Ismā'il. Ibn Kathir⁵⁹ however thinks that this was the first construction. He said, "We haven't received a single authentic report from the Prophet ﷺ about a construction before that of Ibrāhim عليه السلام." Shāmi however has commented on Ibn Kathir's opinion in words: "This statement needs reconsideration in view of so many reports coming down that do not agree with it."

The fifth and the sixth constructions were that of the 'Amāliq and Jurhum, as reported in the works of Shāmi,⁶⁰ Ibn Abu Shaybah⁶¹ and Ishāq bin Rahwayh. Ibn Jarir, Ibn Abu Hātim, and Bayhaqi in his *Ad-Dalā'il*, also carry the report through 'Ali bin Abu Tālib. Suhayli adds: "It is said that the House was constructed once or twice by the Jurhum because of a crack that the Ka'bah wall had suffered due to floods. That means it was not a new construction, rather repair work. It was 'Āmir Jārūd who undertook the works."

The seventh construction was undertaken by Qusaiy bin Kilāb — the Prophet's ancestor. Shāmi⁶² has said about this report that it was passed on by Zubayr bin Bakkār in his book *Kitābun-Nasb*. Imam Abu Ishāq Māwardi has confirmed this report in his book *Al-Ahkām-us-Sultāniyyah*.⁶³

in another place (1/242-243) he brought up various narratives and reports of Adam's Hajj. See Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (1/259).

⁵⁶ *Akhbār Makkah* (1/8).

⁵⁷ See: *As-Siratush-Shāmiyyah* (1/172) where he mentioned as to from whom Ibn Mundhir transmitted.

⁵⁸ *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (1/221). He also mentioned that it was the first time.

⁵⁹ *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (1/178).

⁶⁰ *Subulul-Huda war-Rashād* (1/172, 192).

⁶¹ *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (1/222).

⁶² *Subulul-Huda war-Rashād* (1/192).

⁶³ P. 143, *Darus-Sa'adah* print.

The eighth construction was accomplished by the Quraysh at the time when the Prophet ﷺ was 35 years of age. This we will discuss in detail presently.

The ninth construction was accomplished by 'Abdullah bin Zubayr as reported in the *Sahihayn*⁶⁴ and others. This will also be discussed in detail in the coming chapters.

The tenth construction was undertaken by Hajjāj bin Yusuf on the command of 'Abdul-Mālik bin Marwān the Umayyad, as reported by Muslim.⁶⁵ However, 'Abdul-Mālik later regretted when he heard from 'Āishah رضي الله عنها that she had heard the Prophet ﷺ say, "If not for your people so close to the pre-Islamic times, I would have demolished the Ka'bah, added a roof to it, brought down the door to ground level, and included the Hijr portion into it." Other reporters also confirmed the report to the chagrin of 'Abdul-Mālik.⁶⁶

It is reported that Hārūn Rashid wished to reconstruct the Ka'bah on the design of Ibn Zubayr. But Mālik bin Anas opposed the idea. He told the caliph, "For Allāh's sake, O Leader of the Faithful, don't render the House a plaything for those who come after you — everyone modeling it the way he wishes, undermining the respect that is reserved for it in the hearts of the people." Hārūn Rashid gave up the idea.⁶⁷

We can sum up by saying that the statements in the Qur'ān and the reports that appear in *Bukhārī* and others, lead us to believe that the Ka'bah was first constructed by Ibrāhim and Ismā'il, peace upon

⁶⁴ See Shāmi: *Subulul-Huda war-Rashād* (1/192-196).

⁶⁵ In his *Sahih* (2/971/H. 1333/402).

⁶⁶ *Muslim* (2/972/H. 1333/403), *Suhayli* (1/222), *Shāmi* (1/196).

⁶⁷ Ibn Kathir stated that the one who tried to reduce it was Mahdi bin Mansur. See *Al-Bidāyah* (1/180). And Suhayli said (1/224) that Abu Ja'far Mansur and his son Mahdi increased on the beautification of the mosque and in its grandeur. Dr. Buti wrote: "However, according to the commentaries of Nawawi on *Muslim* and of *Al-Fath* on *Al-Bukhārī*, it was Rashid who thought of reducing the Ka'bah and it is mentioned in *Uyūnul-Athar* (1/53) and in *I'lām-us-Sājid* that it was Abu Ja'far Mansur; but we know that Imām Mālik was a contemporary of Mansur and Hārūn Rashid and hence the possibility remains."

them. At that time the House was on a hill overlooking the area around. Until Ibrāhīm's construction, angels and the previous Prophets were aware of the existence of the sacred spot there.

As for reports asserting that the construction had been done earlier, well, so far as their line of transmission is concerned, they do not go beyond a Companion or a Follower. These reports have been carried by historians such as Azruqi and Fākihi, or those commentators of the Qur'ān who are not very particular about the authenticity of reports, in contrast to the *Hadith* scholars who take greater care about the chain of narration. Hence Ibn Kathir's statement is worth keeping in mind that no trustworthy report has come down to us from the Prophet ﷺ to the effect that the House had already been built before Ibrāhīm عليه السلام.

Nonetheless, Ibn Shahbah⁶⁸ adds to Ibn Kathir's statement the following: "This statement does not contradict the report that there hasn't been a Prophet but who performed pilgrimage to the House." Abu Ya'la has a report in his collection narrated by Ibn 'Abbās رضي الله عنه that the Prophet ﷺ performed his *Hajj*. When he arrived in the 'Asfān valley, he asked, "O Abu Bakr, what valley is this?" Abu Bakr رضي الله عنه replied that it was the 'Asfān valley. The Prophet said, 'Nūh, Hūd and Ibrāhīm have passed by this valley on their red camels led by coiled halters, wearing a lower garment and an upper striped cloak. They had come to perform the pilgrimage of the Ancient House.' *Musnad Ahmad* has another report from Ibn 'Abbās رضي الله عنه who said that when the Prophet ﷺ passed by the 'Asfān valley during the pilgrimage, he asked, "Abu Bakr, what valley is this?" He told him that it was the 'Asfān valley. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Hūd and Sālih passed by this valley on red camels, coiled halters, wearing lower garments and striped cloaks, uttering the supplicatory words of pilgrimage of the Ancient House." The report is of Good (*Hasan*) status. It may also be pointed out that pilgrimage does not necessarily require a constructed house. It is enough if the spot is known and identified.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *As-Sirātun-Nabawīyyah fī Daw'īl-Qur'ān was-Sunnah* (1/126).

⁶⁹ Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (1/...)

Ibn Zubayr's Construction

When Ibn Zubayr رضي الله عنه decided to reconstruct the Ka'bah, the people brought down the walls right up to the ground level. They constructed temporary posts all around and tied a cloth thereunto. When they began the work, they added in length those six feet that the Quraysh had decreased because they had run short of construction material. They maintained the height as 10 feet, placing two doors in the eastern and western walls—one for entry and the other for exit. They did this following the Prophet's desire reported by 'Āishah رضي الله عنها: "If not for your people so close to the pre-Islamic times, I would have demolished the Ka'bah, added to it what was removed, brought down the door to ground level, placing two of them, one for entry at the east side and another for exit at the west side. If I did that, I would have rendered it back to the Ibrāhimi design." (*Sahihayn*).

Azruqi⁷⁰ has stated that the height of the Ibrāhimi construction was 9 feet; the length 32 feet and width 22 feet. It was without a roof. Suhayli⁷¹ states that "the height was 9 feet from the Isma'ili times, over which the Quraysh had added 9 to make it 18 feet. It was they who had lifted the door requiring a ladder for entry through it. The first to add a lock to the door was Tubba'. In any case, when Ibn Zubayr built it, he added another 9 feet to the height making it 27 feet. That is how it remains to this day."

As for Masjidul-Harām, in the beginning it didn't have surrounding walls. Rather, it had residential quarters all around. When 'Umar bin Khattāb رضي الله عنه saw that the houses were constricting the pilgrims, he purchased the houses around and expanded the area. He also added a boundary wall roughly of a man's height, placing lamps on top. During the time of 'Uthmān رضي الله عنه it was once again felt that the buildings around were constricting the space for the pilgrims. So, he too purchased the properties around and expanded the Haram area. Ibn Zubayr رضي الله عنه did the same during his time.

⁷⁰ *Tārikh Makkah* (1/64). Also see Zarkashi: *I'lāmus-Sājid* (p.46) and Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (13/149).

⁷¹ *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (1/221).

Since that time, kings and rulers have gone on adding space to the Haram area to meet with the ever increasing demands,⁷² right into our times; the most massive of them being that of the Saudi government.

Ibrāhim's Station (*Maqām*)

Ibrāhim's *Maqām* refers to the stone over which Ibrāhim عليه السلام had stood to raise the walls when they became beyond his reach. His footmarks remained on the stone. They lasted until Islam's advent. Subsequently they were lost with the touches of the pilgrims. Abu Tālib said in a couplet:

*On the stone Ibrāhim stood
Soft is the mark of his feet.*⁷³

It is reported that earlier the stone was adjacent to the wall of the Ka'bah, having been in that place since the time of Ibrāhim عليه السلام until the time of 'Umar رضي الله عنه. When it became an obstruction to the people, 'Umar رضي الله عنه got it moved to the present position. None of the Companions ever objected to the relocation.⁷⁴

⁷² See Azruqi (2/68-71 and what follows) and Suhayli: *Ar-Rawd* (1/224). These authors detailed the expansion of the Ka'bah until their times.

⁷³ Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (1/177-179) and *Tafsir* (1/246).

⁷⁴ Ahmad in *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (1/324) through 'Abdur-Razzāq, through a chain reliable until 'Ata'; see *Al-Musannaf* (5/48) for a similar report. It has another supporting transmission from Mujāhid that 'Abdur-Razzāq documented; Azruqi: *Akhhār Makkah* (2/33). Hāfiz said in *Al-Fath* (8/169) that Bayhaqi has a similar report coming from 'Āishah رضي الله عنها with a Strong (*Qawi*) chain. It says that the *Maqām* was close by the House till the time of the Prophet ﷺ and Abu Bakr رضي الله عنه. It was 'Umar رضي الله عنه who moved it away. Ibn Abu Hātim also recorded through a reliable chain from Ibn 'Uyaynah that he said, "The *Maqām* was adjacent to the House during the time of the Prophet ﷺ. It was 'Umar who moved it. Then came the floods that took it far away. 'Umar got it replaced." However, Sufyān said, "I do not know whether it was adjacent to the House or not." See Ahmad: *Fadā'il* (1/325): the redactor's footnote. Ibn Kathir said in his *Tafsir* (1/246) after recounting the reports of 'Ata', Mujāhid through 'Abdur-Razzāq and the report of 'Āishah رضي الله عنها which is with Bayhaqi: "This chain is Sound (*Sahih*)."

'Umar رضي الله عنه had also suggested to the Prophet ﷺ, "It would be nice if we prayed near the Station of Ibrāhim." It was approved by the revelation which said:

﴿وَاتَّخِذُوا مِنْ مَّقَامِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ مُصَلًّى﴾

"And take Ibrāhim's Station for prayer."^{75,76}

It is worth mentioning that it was Ibrāhim عليه السلام who had built Masjidul-Aqsa at Jerusalem, although another report is that it was Ya'qub عليه السلام who built it. The time gap between the two constructions was 40 years as said by the Prophet ﷺ.⁷⁷

As regards the *Hadith* in Nasa'i which says that it was Sulayman who built Masjidul-Aqsa, it is its renewal that is meant, as Suyuti,⁷⁸ Ibn Qaiyim⁷⁹ and Ibn Hajar⁸⁰ have clarified. Abu Shahbah⁸¹ is also of the same opinion.

And, after recounting the report of Sufyān which is with Ibn Abu Hātim he said, "These reports strengthen each other."

⁷⁵ *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 125.

⁷⁶ *Al-Bukhārī* (1/504); Ahmad in *Musnad* (1/23) in *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (1/315-316/H. 435) and (1/342/H. 493, 494, 495) through a *Sahih* chain.

⁷⁷ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (13/218-219/H. 3425), *Muslim* (1/370/H. 520).

⁷⁸ *Sunan* (2/34) through a *Sahih* chain as mentioned by the commentator: Suyuti (2/23).

⁷⁹ *Zādul-Ma'ād* (1/49-50).

⁸⁰ *Al-Fath* (13/152) who declared Nasa'i's chain as *Sahih*.

⁸¹ *As-Siratun-Nabawiyah fi Daw'il-Qur'ān was-Sunnah* (1/134).

THE WORLD SITUATION BEFORE ISLAM

During the sixth and seventh centuries, the world was engulfed by the dark shadows of paganism and superstition, and the human society was built on tribalism that divided itself into classes. The social and political anarchy was at its zenith. All that was good, whether it had its source in tradition or in prophetic teachings, was lost. The Prophet ﷺ well expressed the situation when he said, "Allāh looked down upon the peoples of the earth and disapproved of them: the Arabs as well as the non-Arabs, except for the remnants of those that had been given the Book earlier."⁸²

In the following pages we shall briefly present the situation to highlight the necessity for a new Prophet, mentioning also the basic criteria that were, are, and will remain, the foundations for building up a proper human civilization.

⁸² Muslim recorded it as part of a long report. By the words "the remnants of those that had been given the Book earlier" the allusion is to those few that were left holding on to the true religion.

The Arabian Peninsula

The Political Situation

Yemen

The oldest of the Arab peoples known to have inhabited Yemen are the Sabeans (inhabitants of Sheba). They find mention in the Qur'ān also. The peak of their civilization and power seems to have been in the 1100 BC. By 300 CE, the Himyar tribe seems to have overpowered them. With that Yemen began to suffer decline and the Qahtani tribes started to migrate from there to various other places.

Two hundred and seventy years before the entry of Islam, Yemen was the subject of continuous internal wars and turmoil, allowing foreigners to take a foothold in the lands. First, the Romans entered into Aden, and with their help, the Abyssinians were able to extend their influence for the first time in the year 340 CE. They had profited from the quarrels between the two tribes Hamdān and Himyar. Their occupation lasted until 378 CE. After that the land enjoyed some respite. But then Allāh struck them with the calamity of the great floods known as the 'Arim floods. That happened either in 450 or 451 CE. With that the Ma'ārib dam, which was a means of welfare and affluence for them,⁸³ was swept away. These events were the result of their rebellion against Allāh. These are His ways with those who deviate.

In the year 523 CE, their king Dhu Nuwās launched a campaign to force Christians to abandon their religion. When they resisted, he ordered ditches to be dug, got them filled with fire and then got the

⁸³ See Ya'qubi: *At-Tārikh* (1/205)

Christians cast into them. It is about them that Allāh (ﷻ) spoke in *Surat Al-Buruj* saying:

﴿قُلْ أَصْحَابُ الْأُخْدُودِ ﴿٤﴾ النَّارِ ذَاتِ الْوُفُودِ ﴿٥﴾﴾

"Destroyed be the people of the Ditch ..." ⁸⁴

That prompted the Romans to persuade the Abyssinians to occupy Yemen a second time. It happened under the leadership of Aryāt in the year 525 CE. He remained the ruler of Yemen until one of his commanders Abrahah seized power from him. The latter was officially declared ruler of Yemen after he managed to win the approval of the Abyssinian king. It was Abrahah who took up the campaign to destroy the Ka'bah. But Allāh prevented him with His Power. The Qur'ānic chapter entitled *The Elephant* speaks of this episode.

The people of Yemen sought and obtained the help of the Iranians to push out the Abyssinians in the year 575 BC. Ma'dikarib bin Sayf bin Yazan Himyari played the leading role and so the Persians declared him king. However, some Abyssinian slaves who were left in the retinue assassinated him. With his death, his family lost the rule and the Persian emperor appointed a Persian governor of San'a, declaring the Yemen ⁸⁵ an Iranian province. The last of such governors was Bāzān, the one who embraced Islam in the seventh *Hijrah* year, or 628 CE. ⁸⁶ With that the Persian hold over the Yemen was lost for good.

⁸⁴ *Surat Al-Buruj*: 4-8. Ya'qubi has recorded a part of the story in his *Tārikh* (1/119).

⁸⁵ See Ya'qubi (1/200) and Dr. Muhammad Jamāluddīn Surūr: *Qiyāmud-Dawlatil-'Arabiyyah fi Hayāt Muhammad*, pp. 25-31; *Rahiqul-Makhtum*, pp. 28-30. The writer of this last work took it from *Tafhimul-Qur'ān* (4/195-198) and *Tārikh Ardul-Qur'ānul-Karim* (1/133 and what follows) adding, "There are great differences between the history books with regard to the date. Some have said about these details that these are 'tales of the ancients.' See *Al-Bidāyah* (1/174-198) all of them through Ibn Ishāq, except for a few that are not through him. Further, they are either Suspended (*Mu'allaq*), Interrupted (*Munqati'*) or Disconnected (*Mursal*). Of course, what is proven by the Qur'ān there is no second opinion to it.

⁸⁶ Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqātul-Kubrā* (1/260), through his mentor Wāqidi who was Abandoned (*Matruk*) in *Hadith*; Tabari: *At-Tārikh* (2/656), as also a narration of Wāqidi.

The Hira Kingdom

The Persians had ruled Iraq and its surrounding areas since the time of Chosroes the Great (557-529 BC). Then they were invaded by Alexander the Macedonian in the year 326 BC. Anarchy reigned till 320 BC. During these years the Qahtānis migrated and occupied a part of the fertile lower lands. They were followed by the 'Adnāni tribes. The two however clashed and the former pushed on to occupy the Euphrates basin.

Ardshir, the founder of the Sassanid rule in the year 226 BC, organized the Persians and got better of the Arabs living on the borders of their kingdom. This was the reason why Qudā'ah (tribe) migrated from there to Shām. The people of Hira and Anbar however submitted to the rule. Nevertheless, finding it difficult to control this region from the capital, the Persians appointed one of their men, Jadhimah Waddah, governor, helping him out with some Persian militia. This was to keep the Romans and Arab Syrians in check. The latter had been similarly placed by the Romans (in order to keep the Persians in check). Of the rulers of Hira, the most famous was Nu'mān bin Mundhir. He is the one who rebelled against the Persians, fought against them at Dhi Qār and defeated them. This happened after the birth of the Prophet ﷺ. It is said that it was the first time that the Arabs overcame the non-Arabs. ⁸⁷ The Prophet ﷺ is reported to have said, "This was the first time that the Arabs were able to wrench justice from the non-Arabs, and they were helped because of me." ⁸⁸

The Syrian Kingdom

The period during which waves of Arab tribes migrated to Shām, the innermost families of Qudā'ah went over to Syrian plains to take up inhabitation there. These were of the Banu Sulayh bin

⁸⁷ See Ibn Athir: *Al-Kāmil fit-Tārikh* (1/171-174), Ya'qubi: *At-Tārikh* (1/214-215) all the chains are Weak (*Da'if*).

⁸⁸ Tabari: *At-Tārikh* (2/193), without a chain. See the whole story in Ya'qubi: *At-Tārikh* (1/214-215) but all the chains are *Da'if*.

Hulwān of whom were born the Banu Daj'am bin Sulayh. They were known as Banu Dajā'imah. The Romans used them as barriers between themselves and the Bedouin Arabs on one side, while on the other as barriers against the Persians. They appointed one of their prominent men as potentate. They remained the rulers until the Ghassanians overcame them. The Romans let the Ghassanians prevail, maintaining their own hold, until the famous Yarmuk battle in the 13th year after *Hijrah* (634 AC). That event was also marked by the entry of the last of their rulers Jabalah bin Ayham into the fold of Islam. Those were the days of 'Umar's caliphate.⁸⁹

Hijāz

In Hijāz, political unity did not exist for the area to ever acquire the status of a kingdom. There were many towns, but each followed its own political system which was nearer to being a Shaykhdom rather than a kingdom. The major cities of those times were Makkah, Yathrib and Tā'if.

Makkah

In our account of the development of Makkah, we have stated that its original inhabitants were the Jurhum tribes, although it is claimed that the 'Amāliq had lived in the outskirts before the arrival of the Jurhums.⁹⁰

After Ism'ā'il ﷺ the Jurhum tribe did not show keenness to maintain the sanctity of the Haram. Disturbances and dissension followed. Materials gifted to the Ka'bah were stolen. Water level in Zamzam went down and things came to such a pass that even the knowledge of its whereabouts was lost. When some of the Yemeni

⁸⁹ See Ya'qubi, *At-Tārikh* (1/206-207); Ibn Wardi: *At-Tārikh* (1/63); Abul-Fida': *Al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbārul-Bashar*, Dar Al-Ma'rifah, Beirut, (1/72-73) and Dr. Surur: *Qiyāmud-Dawlah*, p. 35-40; Mubārakpuri, *Rahiqul-Makhtum*, p. 32, but all of them through weak sources.

⁹⁰ Azruqi: *Akhbār Makkah* (1/54).

Arabs dispersed after the 'Arim floods, Tha'labah bin 'Amr bin 'Amir migrated to Makkah along with his kinsfolk. Initially, the Jurhum tribe resisted. Fighting broke out between Tha'labahs and Jurhums in which the Jurhums were routed.

When Tha'labah became sick, he went away to Shām handing over the Makkan rule and custodianship of the Ka'bah to a cousin of his called Rab'iah bin Hārithah bin 'Amr who was from Luhaiy tribe. He identified his people as Khuzā'ah. Banu Ismā'il did not take part in the fight between Jurhum and Tha'labah.

From then on until some three hundred years, or according to another opinion five hundred years, the Khuza'ah remained custodians of the House. At that time the Quraysh were a divided house in Banu Kinānah until Qusaiy bin Kilāb took charge and united them. Qusaiy also quarreled with the Khuzā'ah over the custodianship of the House. Qudā'ah aided him in the struggle that ensued, with other Arab tribes also taking part from either side. Finally, the custodianship fell to Qusaiy. From that day onward the Quraysh came to occupy a high position among the Arabs.⁹¹

Qusaiy divided Makkah into four parts and settled the Quraysh in each of its parts. He kept to himself all the important religious functions, such as custody of the keys of the Ka'bah, the right to water the pilgrims, feeding the pilgrims, presiding over the assemblies and handing out war banners and standards. He also built up a house of justice naming it Dārun-Nadwah. He imposed a tax on the Quraysh. The sums thus obtained were spent on the welfare of the pilgrims.

When he grew old, Qusaiy handed over these functions to the eldest of his sons 'Abdud-Dār. After the death of 'Abdud-Dār and his brothers viz., 'Abd Munāf, 'Abd Shams, and 'Abd, differences arose between their sons over the functions. They split into those supporting Banu 'Abdud-Dār and those supporting 'Abd Munāf. While swearing allegiance, Banu 'Abd Munāf dipped their hands in

⁹¹ Azruqi: *Akhbār Makkah* (1/90-96, 103-107) Ibn Ishāq without a chain—Ibn Hishām (1/160-161, 164-165 & 171-172); Ibn Kathir: *Bidāyah* (2/224-225) a narration of Ibn Ishāq without a chain, and so all are weak.

a cup of perfume and rubbed them against the Ka'bah wall. They were known as the *Mutayyibun*. In contrast, the Banu 'Abdud-Dār dipped their hands in a pot of blood, rubbing their hands against the Ka'bah walls. They were known as the *Ahlāf*.

Nonetheless, the two parties came to peace and decided to split the functions between themselves. The functions of feeding and watering the pilgrims were given away to Banu 'Abd Munāf. That of custody of the House, war banners, and the presidency in Dārun-Nadwah was to be the privilege of Banu 'Abdud-Dar. Later, the functions taken over by Banu 'Abd Munāf were split between two families: Hāshim and his brother 'Abd Shams. Watering the pilgrims and feeding them went to Hāshim while the presidency went to 'Abd Shams.⁹²

Nevertheless, as the status of Hāshim grew, jealousy also grew, in particular that of his nephew Umaiyah bin 'Abd Shams. He tried to take away the feeding of the pilgrims from him but could not. Having failed, he earned the taunts of his kinsfolk, which increased his jealousy and hatred for his uncle.

Muttalib inherited the job of feeding the pilgrims after the death of his brother Hāshim. With his death it went to his nephew 'Abdul-Muttalib bin Hāshim; and, after his death, 'Abbās bin 'Abdul-Muttalib inherited it. The Prophet ﷺ left it with him after the fall of Makkah.

As noted earlier, the family of 'Abdud-Dār inherited the custodianship of the banner and the presidency of Dārun-Nadwah. When Makkah fell to the Prophet ﷺ he left the honor with them and returned the key of the House to 'Uthmān bin Talhah. It remains in their hands till today. It is said that the Verse:

﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُكُمْ أَنْ تُؤَدُّوا الْأَمَانَاتِ إِلَىٰ أَهْلِهَا﴾

"Surely Allāh orders you to restore the trusts to those they belong,"⁹³

⁹²See Ibn Ishāq without a chain—Ibn Hishām (1/172-181); Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (2/226-228); Ibn Athir: *Al-Kāmil fī Tārīkh* (1/160); Azruqi: *Akhbār Makkah* (1/107-111, 115) all of them through Weak (*Da'if*) chains.

⁹³*Surat An-Nisa'*: 57.

was revealed in this connection.⁹⁴ Tabari doesn't think it improbable,⁹⁵ although he cites several other opinions.

Yathrib

The first of those to take up residence in this town were the 'Amāliqah. Later, they were overcome by the Jews, especially during the first and the second centuries after Christ, following their persecution at the hands of the Romans in Shām. They had then begun to disperse to various parts of the world. Several tribes, notably Banu Nadir and Banu Qurayzah came down to Yathrib. Subsequently the town received the Aws and Khazraj tribes migrating from Yemen in consequence of the destruction of the Ma'ārib dam.⁹⁶

The Aws and Khazraj tribes and the Jews lived in peace for quite a while entering into a variety of treaties. However, when Aws and Khazraj grew powerful, the Jews became wary of them and broke the treaties. Aws and Khazraj sought the aid of their kin Ghassanids. They lent them help to counter the Jewish efforts to gain supremacy.⁹⁷

Also, Aws and Khazraj lived peacefully among themselves for quite a while. But with the passage of time enmity grew between them, leading to wars. Khazraj held the upper hand most of the time. Aws tried to recruit Quraysh to their cause but failed. That forced them to forge a treaty with Banu Qurayzah and Banu Nadir. When the Khazraj got wind of it they sent a delegation to confirm the news. The Jews let them know that they were not interested in war against them. Khazraj demanded a guarantee supported by 40 young men to live with them as security. Therefore, when they

⁹⁴Tabari mentioned it in his *Tafsir* (8/491-93/Shākir), stopping at 'Ali bin Jurayj where there is a weakness.

⁹⁵*Tafsir* (8/493/Shākir). We shall have more to say about this chain when we discuss the fall of Makkah. Also see Azruqi (1/64-65) through a weak chain.

⁹⁶See Miqrizi: *Imta'ul-Asma'* (1/105); Isfahāni: *Al-Āghāni* (19/94).

⁹⁷Qalaqashandi: *Subhul-A'sha* (4/294).

broke the agreement, the Khazraj gave them the choice of either exile or the lives of the forty. They chose to leave. But Ka'b bin Asad Qurazi convinced them to stay put even at the cost of those that were mortgaged. Therefore, Khazraj slaughtered the forty men in their custody. This angered the Jews and they openly declared their treaty with Aws. They stood with them during the battle of Bu'āth and Aws emerged victorious. Many of the Khazraj were killed in the aftermath. That led to an uneasy peace between Khazraj and Aws. Finally, they agreed to set up a kind of joint rule with 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy bin Salul Khazraji⁹⁸ as the head. But, as they were preparing the grounds for laying the foundations for this new set up, the Prophet ﷺ happened to emigrate to Yathrib. Islam spread so fast that most people completely set aside the idea of forming a government under 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy, preferring to assemble rather under the banner of Islam. Ibn Ubaiy was left with no choice but to outwardly embrace Islam after the Badr victory. Nonetheless, he remained a hypocrite all along as we shall see later. There isn't any difference in opinion about this man's hypocrisy among the scholars of the Qur'ān, *Hadith*, or history. As for the leader of the Aws tribe, Abu 'Āmir bin Sayfi bin Nu'mān, the father of Abu Hanzalah who was given a wash by angels, this man chose to remain a disbeliever and so moved away to Makkah. From there he moved on to Tā'if, migrating from there to Shām. Everywhere, he tried to do everything he could to destroy Islam. He had taken up to asceticism during the pre-Islamic times and so was known as the Monk. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Don't call him a monk, rather 'the wicked'."⁹⁹

Tā'if

Initially Tā'if used to be known as Wajj, borrowing its name from Wajj bin 'Abdul-Haiy. He was one of the 'Amāliqah

⁹⁸ Sumhūdi: *Wafā'ul-Wafā' bi Akhbār Dārul-Mustafā*, pp. 215-219.

⁹⁹ See Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—Ibn Hishām 3/97-98; Wāqidi (1/223); Ibn Sa'd (2/40) through a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain; Sumhudi: *Wafā'ul-Wafā'*, pp. 218-219 without a chain, i.e., all the chains are *Da'if*.

(Amālekites) to have taken up residence there. The Hawāzin tribes of the outlying areas also joined him there. Later, one of the chiefs of the Hawāzin called Qasb bin Munabbih bin Bakr bin Hawāzin married off his daughter to one of the chiefs of Wajj called 'Āmir 'Adwāni. From thereon Qasb came to be known as Thaqif. When they grew in numbers, they built walls around their dwellings that later developed into a fort. The fort came to be known as Tā'if (something that surrounds), after the walls that surrounded their dwellings. Thereafter Wajj¹⁰⁰ was relinquished in favor of Tā'if.

At the time of the advent of Islam, the Banu Thaqif were divided into two groups: Banu Mālik and *Ahlāf*. Friction between them led them to wars from which the *Ahlāf* emerged victorious. They expelled Banu Mālik beyond into the valleys of Tā'if. So Banu Mālik worked out treaties with the adjoining tribes to strengthen themselves militarily. They joined hands with Daws, Khath'am and others, against the *Ahlāf*. Nevertheless, no wars were reported between them.¹⁰¹

Religious Condition

Khuzā'ah managed to keep the trusteeship of the Ka'bah for three to five hundred years. But they proved to be evil trustees. For, it was during their time that idol-worship entered into the Arabian Peninsula. One of their chiefs called 'Amr bin Luhaiy¹⁰² had traveled to Shām where he found the 'Amālekites in Mo'āb worshipping idols. When he inquired about the functions of those idols, he was told that when they supplicated to them for rains or sought other help, they received the rains and the help they had sought. So he asked them to donate an idol to him. They gave him Hubal. He brought it down to Makkah and persuaded the people to

¹⁰⁰ Bakri: *Mu'jam ma Istu'jim* (1/76-77); Yāqut Hamawi: *Mu'jamul-Buldān* (2/12-13) and all the chains are Weak (*Da'if*).

¹⁰¹ See Ibn Athir: *Al-Kāmil fit-Tārikh* (1/253-254) through a *Da'if* chain.

¹⁰² Muslim documented (4/2191/H. 2856) that the Prophet ﷺ said, "I saw 'Amr bin Luhaiy dragging his entrails in the Fire." This was because of his reprehensible act.

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offer their devotions to it. From thereon, whenever Banu Ismā'il traveled they took a stone from the Haram with them, pitching it whenever they encamped and circumambulating it in the manner of the Sacred House. That practice led the masses to choose the best shaped stones around for worship. This is how those who were on the religion of Ibrāhīm¹⁰³ ended up becoming idol-worshippers. Every major tribe had its own stone-god. For instance, Banu Kalb bin Murrah of Dumatul-Jandal owned a deity called Wudd. Banu Hudhayl who lived in a place called Rihāt, some three nights off Makkah, owned a deity called Suwa': Banu An'am possessed a deity called Yaguth, which was also the deity of the people of Jursh from Madhhij tribe in Yemen. Another idol was Ya'uq that belonged to Banu Khaywan of the Hamdāni tribes, while on the other hand, Nasr was the chief god of Dhul-Kala' of Himyar.¹⁰⁴

These were the very idols that the people of Nūh had worshipped as noted by the Qur'ān. It reported to us the words of those people:

﴿وَقَالُوا لَا نَذَرُنَّ آلِهَتَكُمْ وَلَا نَذَرُنَّ وَدًّا وَلَا سُوَاعًا وَلَا يَغُوثَ وَيَعُوقَ وَنَسْرًا ۝٣٣
وَقَدْ أَضَلُّوا كَثِيرًا﴾

"And they have said, 'Don't give up your deities, nor give up Wudd, or Suwa', or Yaghuth, or Ya'uq, nor Nasr.' Surely, they led many astray."¹⁰⁵

When Ismā'il's children and others abandoned the religion of Ibrāhīm, they took to worshipping these idols.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (2/205); Yā'qubi: *At-Tārikh* (1/254); Ibn Wardi: *At-Tārikh* (1/65) - all their chains are *Da'if*.

¹⁰⁴ Ibn Ishāq without a chain - *Ibn Hishām* (1/123-132), so it is *Da'if*.

¹⁰⁵ *Surat Nūh*: 23-24. See the story of these idols with Yā'qubi, *At-Tārikh* (1/255): with Ibn Abu Shaykh in his book *Al-'Azamah*; Bukhārī, Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (18/312-314/explanation of H. 4920). He states that Yaghuth was originally for the Murād tribe. Then for Banu Ghatif living near Sheba. This to us is correct for Ibn Ishāq's statement that Yaghuth was for Banu An'am of Tay' is not so reliable because the areas of Tay' and Madhhij are far apart: the former in the north while the latter in Yemen.

¹⁰⁶ In sum, and as documented by *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (18/303/H. 4920) and

The Khawlān tribe had a deity that was called either 'Amm Anas or 'Amyanus. They divided their charity between it on one side and Lord God of the universe on the other. It is about them that Allāh (ﷻ) revealed:

﴿وَجَعَلُوا لِلَّهِ مِمَّا ذَرَأَ مِنَ الْحَرْثِ وَالْأَنْعَامِ نَصِيبًا﴾

"And they have declared shares (for other than Allāh) out of what Allāh created of the crops and livestock."¹⁰⁷

Similarly, Banu Malakān bin Kinānah had a deity of their own called Sa'd. Daws tribe had their own in the image of 'Amr bin Hamamah. The Quraysh had christened deities that were special to them, such as Isāf and Nā'ilah. They stood near the Zamzam well. It is at this spot that they offered their sacrifices. 'Āishah (رضي الله عنها) said, "We had always heard that the pair Isāf and Nā'ilah committed fornication in the Haram and were turned to stones."¹⁰⁸

But that was not all. Every family had deities special to it. The last thing they would do before leaving the town or the first thing they would do arriving from a journey was to touch them. When Allāh (ﷻ) sent the Prophet (ﷺ) with the message of One God, they criticized him saying:

﴿أَجْعَلِ الْآلِهَةَ إِلَهًا وَاحِدًا إِنَّ هَذَا لَشَيْءٌ عَجَبٌ ۝٥﴾

"Has he made a single deity out of several? Surely, this is a strange thing."¹⁰⁹

Abu Raja' 'Utāridi says in a trustworthy report, "When we

others, discussing the idols of the people of Nūh, that they were originally names of pious persons among them. When they died, Satan inspired them to plant in the places they sat their idols naming them by their names. They did so, and when, that generation was gone, those who followed began to worship them. When the Flood came, they got buried under the mud. They remained so until the satans pulled them out for the Arabs. See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (18/312).

¹⁰⁷ *Surat Al-An'ām*: 136.

¹⁰⁸ Ibn Ishāq recorded it through a Good (*Hasan*) chain - *Ibn Hishām* (1/127).

¹⁰⁹ *Surat Sād*: 5.

didn't find a good and shapely stone in the days of Ignorance, we gathered some dust, made a heap of it, brought a goat and milked on it. Then we circumambulated it."¹¹⁰

Ibn Kathir¹¹¹ has reported several trustworthy *Ahādith* about the role of 'Amr bin Luhaiy in the founding of the religion of idols. One of them of the *Shaykhayn*¹¹² says that the Prophet ﷺ said, "I saw 'Amr bin 'Āmir of Khuzā'ah (i.e., 'Amr bin Luhaiy), dragging his intestines in the Fire. He was the one who introduced idol-worship." Ibn Ishāq¹¹³ has more details. Its words are: He was the first person to alter the religion of Banu Ismā'il, place the idols and give a start to various pagan rituals. Allāh (ﷻ) expressed His disapproval in several passages of the Qur'ān. In one place He said:

﴿وَلَا تَقُولُوا لِمَا تَصِفُ أَلْسِنَتُكُمُ الْكَذِبَ هَذَا حَلَلٌ وَهَذَا حَرَامٌ لِّتَفْتَرُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكَذِبَ﴾

"Do not utter what comes to your mouth saying, 'This is lawful and this is unlawful,' to fasten lies upon Allāh."¹¹⁴

Ibn 'Abbās ؓ has said,¹¹⁵ "If you wish to know the Arab condition before Islam, read from Verses 130 onwards of *Surat Al-An'ām*." Those passages give a fair idea of what the Arab individuals and societies were like before the advent of Islam.

Nothing but traces of the religion of Ibrāhīm ؑ had remained, such as, reverence and circumambulation of the Ka'bah, *Hajj*, *'Umrah*, stopping at 'Arafah and Muzdalifah, and sacrifice. Yet, in all these rituals they had introduced innovations of all sorts. For example, when Kinānah and Quraysh put on the pilgrim garb they called out, "Here we are O our Lord. You have no partners except

¹¹⁰ *Al-Bukhārī* (8/90); Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (2/205).

¹¹¹ *Al-Bidāyah* (2/206-207).

¹¹² *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath*, 17/156-58/H. 4623, 4624; *Muslim* (4/2192/H. 2856).

¹¹³ Ibn Ishāq through Good (*Hasan*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/121).

¹¹⁴ *Surat An-Nahl*: 116. Also see *Al-Mā'idah*: 103, *An-Nahl*: 56; *Al-An'ām*: 136-140. Ibn Kathir mentioned it in *Al-Bidāyah* (2/207-208).

¹¹⁵ Tabari: *Tafsir* (12/155/Shākir/H. 13953), and the Verse is from *Surat Al-An'ām*: 140.

those partners that You own and all that he owns." Thus they first declared God devoid of partners but immediately introduced their deities as His subordinate partners. Similarly, although they circumambulated the Ka'bah, they did it naked, and making noise of all sorts.¹¹⁶

The Arabs had also constructed and adopted sacred houses other than the Ka'bah. Those houses had their own custodians. They also circumambulated them and offered them sacrifices. The Quraysh themselves had one such house in Nakhlah called Al-'Uzza. Its custodianship was in the hands of Banu Shayban of the Sulaym tribe. They were allies of Banu Hāshim. Similarly those of Tā'if had Al-Lāt whose keys were with Banu Mu'tab of the Thaqif tribe. Aws and Khazraj, and those who followed their religion had their own idol named Manāt which was in Mushallal off Qudayd. The Qur'ān spoke of these deities when it said:

﴿أَفَرَأَيْتُمُ اللَّاتَ وَالْعُزَّىٰ ۝١٩ وَمَنَاةَ الثَّالِثَةَ الْأُخْرَىٰ ۝٢٠﴾

"Have you considered the Lāt and 'Uzza? — and the third, the Manāt?"¹¹⁷

Similarly the Daws, Khath'am, Bajilah, and those of the Arabs of the Tabalah area had their own temple which housed Dhul-Khalasah deity. They called it Al-Ka'bah Al-Yamāniyah while the

¹¹⁶ Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/122). The report about the introduction of pagan words into the *Talbiyyah* was reported by Bazzār through Good (*Hasan*) chain. His words are: "Satans used to speak some things to men." He meant, turn away from submission to Allāh until they entered the pagan words in the *Talbiyyah*: "Here we are, O our Lord... Here we are, You have not partners: except those partners that You own, and all that he owns." This remained until he drove them out of Islam into paganism. See *Kashful-Astār* (2/15) about which Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (3/223): "Its narrators are those of the *Sahih* works." Shaykh Tarhuni says (1/315/f.n. 194): "Its chain is of four narrators and has the terms 'from so-and-so' from Qatādah but one might ignore it in the light of other supportive narratives. See the *Talbiyyah* of different tribes with Ya'qubi, *At-Tārikh* (1/255-256).

¹¹⁷ *Surat An-Najm*: 19.

introduced among the Arabs, especially in Harān, Bahrain and Bādiyah areas. The story goes that there used to be a man in Makkah called Abu Kabshah who was devoted to the worship of a star called Ash-Shi'ra. He invited the Makkans also to its worship and some of the tribes such as Quraysh, Lakhm and Khuzā'ah readily responded. When the Prophet ﷺ appeared with a new religion, they named him Ibn Abu Kabshah¹²³ because he too was opposed to the worship of their deities as Abu Kabshah was opposed to their worship.

In Yemen Sun's worship was strong. Hence Allāh's Words

﴿إِنِّي وَجَدْتُ امْرَأَةً تَمْلِكُهُمْ وَأُوتِيَتْ مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَلَهَا عَرْشٌ عَظِيمٌ ۚ وَجَدْتُهَا وَقَوْمَهَا يَسْجُدُونَ لِلشَّمْسِ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ وَزَيْنَ لَهُمُ الشَّيْطَانُ أَعْمَلَهُمْ فَصَدَّهُمْ عَنِ السَّبِيلِ فَهُمْ لَا يَهْتَدُونَ ۝﴾¹²⁴

"I have found a woman ruling over them. She has been given everything and possesses a huge throne. I found them prostrating themselves to the Sun instead of Allāh. Satan has enamored for them their deeds and has blocked their path so that they cannot be guided."¹²⁴

Some of the Persian Magians and Zoroastrians had also penetrated into the Arab world. Ibn Qutaybah writes: "Zoroastrianism was found among the members of Tamim, such as Zurārah and Hājib bin Zurārah. A few free-thinkers were also to be found among the Quraysh. They had imported the ideas from Hirah." Aqra' bin Hābis and Abu Sud, who was the grandfather of Waki' bin Hassān, were close to the Magian religion.¹²⁵ It had also reached Hijr¹²⁶ migrating from Bahrain. They believed that killing an enemy on their lands rendered it unclean for them.¹²⁷

Those days Judaism was prevalent in Yathrib, Khayber, in the

¹²³ Alusi: Bulughul-Arab fi Ahwālil-'Arab (2/239).

¹²⁴ Surat An-Naml: 23 and 24.

¹²⁵ Al-Ma'arif, p. 621.

¹²⁶ See Al-Bukhārī (6/257/Ash-Shi'ab print).

¹²⁷ Hākim in Al-Mustadrak (3/451), through a Sound (Sahih) chain.

Ka'bah at Makkah was called Al-Ka'bah Ash-Shāmiyah. The Tay' tribe and those around the Tay' mountains between Aja and Salma had Fulus as their deity. Ri'ām was the house for Himyar and the Yemenites, while Ridā' was for Banu Rabi'ah bin Ka'b. The Banu Bakr and Taghlib, the sons of Wā'il and Iyād who lived in Sindad,¹¹⁸ had their house called Dhul-Ka'bāt.

Apart from these, there were plenty of other deities for other tribes whose description fills history books.¹¹⁹

There are a few interesting stories in connection with the Arab deities. For instance Sā'ib bin 'Abdullah had a stone that he himself had carved in the shape of a deity. Apart from that, as he said, he would make other deities out of a heap of dust. He would then pour some good quality milk over it. But, there would come a dog, lick off the milk and then raise its hind leg and urinate over it!¹²⁰ It is also reported that the Banu Hanifah had made a deity of wheat flour. However, when they were struck with drought, they ate it up. There are poetical pieces produced by other tribes that ridiculed Banu Hanifah for dealing with their venerable deities in this shameful manner.¹²¹

Then there is the story of the poet who was inspired to say a poetical piece when he found two foxes urinating on the idol he worshipped.¹²² Indeed, we also have the story of 'Umar bin Khattāb who, out of his great hunger, ate off his idol made of dates. Although not all these narrations are historically verifiable, but put together they give some idea of what was happening around those days.

Apart from idols, the worship of planets and stars was also

¹¹⁸ We shall deal in detail about the destruction of these houses of worship after the fall of Makkah. See the references there.

¹¹⁹ See e.g., Ya'qubi: At-Tārikh (1/255 and what follows); and Kalbi in his work Al-Asnām. However, all the chains are Weak (Da'if.)

¹²⁰ Ahmad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni (20/200). He attributed it to Hākim in Al-Mustadrak who declared it Sound (Sahih) with the agreement of Dhahabi.

¹²¹ See Ibn Qutaybah: Al-Ma'arif, p. 621, but its chain is Da'if.

¹²² Ibn Sa'd: At-Tabaqāt (1/307-309).

valleys of Qura, in Fadak and Tayma.¹²⁸ It seemed to be heading for prominence with the penetration of the Jews into other parts of the Peninsula and sliding down to the Yemen. Dhu Nuwas of Himyar had adopted the faith and had tried to forcibly convert the Christians of the area into Judaism. Judaism was also to be found among the Banu Kinānah, Banu Hārith bin Ka'b and Kindah. It seems to have reached them via the Jews of Yathrib and Khayber.¹²⁹

On the other hand, Christianity had found its way among the Ghassanians and Mundhirs. The best known churches in Hirah were Hindul-Aqdam, Al-Lajj, and Hārah Maryam.¹³⁰ It had spread into the south of the Peninsula, followed by the construction of churches in Zafār and Aden.¹³¹ They were in large numbers in Najrān. The story of their encounter with the Prophet ﷺ in Makkah and Madinah follows later in this work.

Some of the Quraysh tribes were also influenced by Christianity. Banu Asad bin 'Abdul-'Uzza, Banu Imra'ul-Qays of Tamim, Banu Taghlib of the Rabi'ah group and some of the Qudā'ah had also adopted Christianity having been influenced by the Romans.¹³² Of those important figures that had adopted Christianity, one was 'Adi bin Hātim Tā'i.¹³³

Nonetheless, the Judaic and Christian religions did not take deep roots in the Arab society nor did they spread far and wide. This can be noticed from the history of individuals and tribes. The monotheism introduced by Ibrāhim عليه السلام also did not die out completely. A few adhered strongly to it, dissatisfied with idol-worship. They were known as the *Hanafis* or *Hunafā'*. They believed

¹²⁸ The evidences for this will come in detail when we present the Prophet's campaigns and his policy towards the Jews in these areas.

¹²⁹ See Alusi: *Bulughul-Arab* (2/241).

¹³⁰ See Bakri: *Mu'jam* (2/606, 2/595, 2/604) and Hamawi has named Hindul-Aqdam as Hindul-Kubra, *Mu'jamul-Buldān* (2/709).

¹³¹ Surur, *Qiyāmud-Dawlatil-'Arabiyyah*, p. 61, Alusi: *Bulughul-Arab*, pp. 241-244.

¹³² Ya'qubi, *At-Tārikh* (1/214) which happens to be a weak narrative; Alusi: *Bulughul-Arab* (2/241); Dr. Surur, p. 62; Ibn Qutaybah: *Al-Ma'ārif*, p. 621.

¹³³ See *Al-Bukhārī* (6/533), *Ahmad* (4/377, 378) through Good (*Hasan*) chain.

in the Oneness of God, both in His Divinity as well as His Lordship, and were waiting for the next Prophet.¹³⁴

Of such *Hunafā'*, Qus bin Sā'idah Iyādi, Zayd bin 'Amr bin Nufayl, Umaiyyah bin Abu Salt, Abu Qays bin Abu Anas, Khālid bin Sinān, Nābighah Dhubyāni, Zuhayr bin Abu Salma, and Ka'b bin Lu'ay bin Ghālib, the Prophet's ancestor, are a few that can be named.¹³⁵

They were named *Hunafā'* after the religion of Ibrāhim عليه السلام. The Qur'ān reported his words:

إِنِّي وَجَّهْتُ وَجْهِيَ لِلَّذِي فَطَرَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ حَنِيفًا وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ ﴿٧٩﴾

"I have turned my face toward the One Who originated the heavens and the earth, as a Hanif, and I am not of the polytheists."¹³⁶

And:

﴿مَا كَانَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ يَهُودِيًّا وَلَا نَصْرَانِيًّا وَلَكِنْ كَانَ حَنِيفًا مُّسْلِمًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ ﴿٧٩﴾﴾

"Ibrāhim was not a Jew nor a Christian, rather he was a Hanif, Muslim. He was not of the polytheists."¹³⁷

And:

﴿قُلْ صَدَقَ اللَّهُ فَاتَّبِعُوا مِلَّةَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ حَنِيفًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ ﴿٩٥﴾﴾

"Say, Allāh spoke the truth, therefore, follow the religion of Ibrāhim, the Hanif. He was not of the polytheists."¹³⁸

¹³⁴ See Alusi: *Bulughul-Arab*, p.287-349. The proper evidences for this will follow in this work.

¹³⁵ See reports about them in Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/230-266). See also following notes.

¹³⁶ *Surat Al-An'ām*: 150.

¹³⁷ *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 67.

¹³⁸ *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 95.

In what follows we present short biographical sketches of these *Hunafā'*, shedding light on their faith and beliefs.

1. Zayd bin 'Amr bin Nufayl

Ibn Ishāq¹³⁹ has reported through Asma' bint Abu Bakr ؓ who said, "I have witnessed Zayd bin 'Amr bin Nufayl resting on the wall of the Ka'bah saying, 'O Quraysh. By Him in Whose Hand is Zayd's life, there is none left among you on the religion of Ibrāhim except me.' Then he would say, 'O Lord, if I knew a better manner of worshipping You, I'd do it. But, alas, I don't know.' Then he would prostrate himself on his ride, and praying towards the Ka'bah, would add, 'My Lord is the Lord of Ibrāhim, and my religion is the religion of Ibrāhim.' He would buy off a female infant condemned to be buried alive, saying to the man intending to kill her, 'Don't kill her. Give her to me I shall look after her. Then, when she comes of age, take her back, or leave her to me.'"

Bukhārī¹⁴⁰ reports through Ibn 'Umar ؓ that Zayd bin 'Amr bin Nufayl traveled to Shām, looking for the true religion that he could follow. He met a rabbi there and asked him about his religion. The Jew told him, "You cannot adopt my religion without also accepting your share of God's anger." Nufayl replied, "Am I not trying to escape God's anger?" The Jew told him, "In that case, you better be a *Hanif*." Zayd asked him, "What is being a *Hanif*?" He replied, "It is the religion of Ibrāhim who was neither a Jew nor Christian and did not worship any but Allāh." Later he met a Christian priest and the same conversation transpired between them. When Zayd found that both had the same thing to say about the religion of Ibrāhim, he left Shām. When he came out, he raised his hands and said, "O my Lord. Bear witness that I am on the religion of Ibrāhim."

¹³⁹ Ibn Kathir quoted it in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/258), through Good (*Hasan*) chain. The first half is a narrative of Ibn Hishām (1/287) up to the words, "then he would prostrate on his ride" — through Good (*Hasan*) chain.

¹⁴⁰ *Al-Fath* (14/299-300/H. 3827).

Zayd would refuse to eat of the animal slaughtered by the Quraysh, saying, "I am not going to eat out of what you sacrifice at the alters. I do not eat of anything but that which is slaughtered in the Name of Allāh." He ridiculed the Quraysh over their sacrifices. He would say, "Allāh created the sheep. It is He Who sent down the water for it from the heavens, grew grass for it from the earth, but thereafter you go and slaughter it in the name of other than Allāh?"

There are some other reports about him, but they are not very authentic. However, they strengthen each other and reach an status. They all lead to the same conclusion that Zayd was on the look out for the true religion, and finally, decided on that of Ibrāhim ؑ. That is why the Prophet ﷺ said, "He will be raised as a nation all by himself between me and Jesus Christ the son of Maryam."¹⁴¹ He also said, "When I entered into Paradise, I found two tall, thick trees marked for Zayd bin 'Amr." Zayd had met the Prophet ﷺ, but died before the latter was commissioned the prophethood.¹⁴²

2. Waraqah bin Nawfal

It is said that he went along with Zayd bin Nufayl looking for a true religion to follow. His search led him to Christianity, although his companion Zayd wouldn't agree to anything less than the religion of Ibrāhim ؑ.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Ibn Kathir quoted it in *Al-Bidāyah* (2/260-265) as transmission of 'Uthmān bin Abu Shaybah, remarking: "Its chain is Good & Perfect (*Jaiyid-Hasan*). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath*, after quoting the *Hadith* in words, "He will be raised on the Day of Standing as a nation all by himself," that it is reported by Baghawi in *As-Sahābah* as a report of Jābir with this addition. Ibn Sa'd (1/161-162); and Tayālisi as arranged by Sā'āti (2/161).

¹⁴² *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/298-299/H. 3826).

¹⁴³ A report in Tayālisi — Banna's rearrangement (2/161), through a weak chain for there falls in it Nufayl bin Hāshim who was of unknown decent (*Majhul*). None trusted it except Ibn Hibbān. But there are supportive narrations that strengthen it. So it rises to the level of *Hasan li Ghayrihi*. These reports deal with Zayd's journey to Shām in search of the true religion.

One day the Prophet ﷺ told his wife Khadijah in Makkah that he had seen a light and that he feared that he might be out of his mind. She consoled him and then took him to Waraqah and explained all that had occurred. He said, "If you are true in what you say, then this is the same messenger (Jibril) that had come down to Musa. If you are commissioned and I am alive, I'll believe in you and aid you."¹⁴⁴ We shall have more to say of this conversation a little later. Waraqah also said a few nice lines of poetry on the concept of One God and life after death.¹⁴⁵

3. Qus bin Sā'idah Iyādi

'Ubādah bin Sāmit and others have narrated that when the Iyād delegation came up to Madinah, the Prophet ﷺ inquired about Qus bin Sā'idah. He was told that he had died. The Prophet ﷺ said, "I saw him once in the 'Ukāz fair on a red camel saying some nice things that I can't recall now." One of the delegates said that he remembered the words. They were: "People, come together. Everyone who had to die has died. Everything that has to be, will be. Dark night, the heavens of the zodiac sign, the roaring ocean, the shining stars, the pitched mountains, the running streams. Surely, in the heavens is a lesson. How's that? I see people going but not returning. They seemed to have liked the staying and so have stayed back. Or, is it possible that they gave up (the idea of coming) and slept off? Qus swears by God: an oath doubtless. Surely, God has a religion that is more pleasing to Him than yours." And then he recited some poetry.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/207) through a Good (*Hasan*) chain: once Disconnected (*Mursal*), and at another time Connected (*Muttasil*).

¹⁴⁵ See *Ibn Hishām* (1/294-295) being a narrative of Ibn Ishāq, without a chain, and therefore Weak (*Da'if*).

¹⁴⁶ Ibn Kathir quoted it in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/251-52) as a narrative of Kharā'iti, through a weak chain, for Nasr bin Hammād Warrāq, better known as Abu Hārith Warrāq was *Da'if*, useless man. See *Al-Mughni* (2/779). Ibn Kathir remarked in *Al-Bidāyah* that its chain is Unfamiliar (*Gharib*).

Ibn 'Abbās ¹⁴⁷ has a similar narration.

Ibn Kathir¹⁴⁸ has also presented several narrations about Qus's belief in One God, his poetry and sayings lead us to believe that there has to be a basis for all the reports that have been narrated about him.¹⁴⁹

4. Umaiya bin Abu Salt

It is about this person Umaiya bin Abu Salt that the Prophet ﷺ had remarked, "Umaiya was almost a Muslim."¹⁵⁰ Another version says, "Umaiya's poetry was almost Muslim."¹⁵¹ He was one of those who had adopted Christianity. His topics in poetry were: Oneness of God and the concept of the Hereafter.¹⁵² He was a leading poet¹⁵³ and lived until the time the Prophet ﷺ¹⁵⁴ was commissioned the prophethood. But he didn't believe in him out of arrogance, unwilling to obey the Prophet ﷺ. It was about him that Allāh (ﷻ) revealed the Verse:

¹⁴⁷ Ibn Kathir quoted it in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/251) as a report of Tabarāni; Bayhaqi also documented it in *Ad-Dalā'il* (1/104), but the chains of both of them are very weak for there falls in them Muhammad bin Hajjāj, whom Abu Hātim accused of lies, as also a few others, as in Dhahabi's *Al-Mughni* (2/565).

¹⁴⁸ *Al-Bidāyah* (2/251-258) who commented: "...These weak reports strengthen each other to prove that the story has a basis; then he mentioned Bayhaqi's statement about this chain (p. 258).

¹⁴⁹ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (2/102-113) adding after quoting it through these chains: "...These reports, although weak, strengthen each other to prove that the story has a basis."

¹⁵⁰ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/310/H. 3841); *Muslim* (4/1768/H. 2256).

¹⁵¹ *Muslim* (4/1768/H. 2255).

¹⁵² Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (14/310/explanation of H. 3841). See a similar report in Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (1/289-90).

¹⁵³ See his poetry in Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (1/86, 100, 108, 289, 295, 307), (2/210), (3/42). Sharid bin Suwayd said a hundred Verses in praise of the Prophet ﷺ, as reported in *Muslim* (4/1767/H. 2255).

¹⁵⁴ A report of Tabari as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (14/310), without passing his remark about its chain.

﴿وَأَتْلُ عَلَيْهِمْ نَبَأَ الَّذِي ءَاتَيْنَاهُ ءَايَاتِنَا فَانْسَلَخَ مِنْهَا﴾

"Narrate to them the story of him whom We gave Our signs, but he went out of them."^{155,156}

It is said that he died in the 9th year after *Hijrah* but others say that it was in the second year.¹⁵⁷ However we have some of his poetical pieces on the battle of Badr.¹⁵⁸

5. Labid bin Rabi'ah 'Āmiri

He was a renowned poet of the pre-Islamic era. In fact, he was one among the *Mu'allaqāt* poets, meaning, those whose poetry was hung on the door of the Ka'bah. The Prophet ﷺ said, "The truest of statements of Labid was: "Lo. Everything else apart from God is false."¹⁵⁹ One of his episodes involves 'Uthmān bin Maz'ūn that we shall narrate later. Labid had embraced Islam and died during the caliphate of 'Uthmān ؓ after having lived 150 years or more.¹⁶⁰

Other Hunafa

Some others that have been mentioned as *Hunafa'* are: Arbāb bin Rī'āb, Suwayd bin 'Āmir Mustalaqi the poet, As'ad Abu Karb Himyari, Waki' bin Salamah bin Zuhayr Iyādi, 'Umayr bin Haydhab Juhani, 'Adi bin Zayd 'Ibādi who became a Christian, Abu Qays Surrah bin Abu Anas Bukhāri, Sayf bin Dhi Yazan Himyari, Āmir bin Zarib 'Adwāni, the poet Abdut-Tānjah bin

¹⁵⁵ Surat Al-A'rāf: 175.

¹⁵⁶ A report of Ibn Marduwayh with a Strong (*Qawi*) chain coming from 'Abdullah bin 'Amr bin 'Ās, as quoted by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (14/310) where he added, "It has been narrated in several other ways also that it came down in connection with Bal'ām the Israelite, which is well-known."

¹⁵⁷ Ibn Sabt Jawzi mentioned it as quoted in *Al-Fath* from him (14/310).

¹⁵⁸ Ibn Ishāq — *Ibn Hishām* (3/42-48).

¹⁵⁹ *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/309/H. 3841); *Muslim* (4/1768-69/H. 2256).

¹⁶⁰ See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (14/310).

Tha'lab bin Wabrah bin Qudā'ah, 'Allāf bin Shihāb Tamimi, Multamas bin Umaiyyah Kināni, the poet Zuhayr bin Abu Salma, Khālid bin Sinān bin Ghayth 'Absi, 'Abdullah Qudā'i, 'Ubayd bin Abras Asadi, Ka'b bin Lu'ay bin Ghālib Qurashi the Prophet's ancestor,¹⁶¹ 'Uthmān bin Huwayrith who also traveled far and wide in search of the true religion, became a Christian and remained with the Roman emperor,¹⁶² 'Amr bin 'Abasa Sulami who later became a Muslim,¹⁶³ Akthām bin Sayfi bin Rabah¹⁶⁴ and 'Abdul-Muttalib, the Prophet's grandfather.¹⁶⁵

Social Condition

By the very nature of things, the social life of a people is bound closely with their religious beliefs and their economic system. Since the religion of the Arabs was idol-worship, which is against human nature, reason and logic, it had to give birth to a social system that was primarily against the demands of human nature, reason and logic.

In consequence, human society slides into debaucheries of all sorts: drinking, gambling, unlimited spouses, infanticide from fear of or as a result of poverty, killing of the female child for reasons of a false sense of honor, eruption of wars for petty reasons, all leading to a general anarchy. The Qur'ān commented on these evils, as also

¹⁶¹ See their lives, their opinions and their poetry with Alusi: *Bulughul-Arab*, pp. 258-282 and Ibn Qutaybah: *Al-Ma'ārif*, pp. 58-62.

¹⁶² Ibn Ishāq without a chain — *Ibn Hishām* (1/286) therefore it is weak.

¹⁶³ See details about him in his biography as in *Al-Isābah* (3/5-6) and Tabari: *At-Tārikh* (2/315) through a Sound (*Sahih*) chain.

¹⁶⁴ See details about him with Alusi: *Bulughul-Arab* (1/308-309).

¹⁶⁵ See *Murujudh-Dhahab* (1/239-248); Shahrastāni: *Al-Milal wan-Nihal* (2/248). That 'Abdul-Muttalib was the grandfather of the Prophet ﷺ goes without any differences in opinion between the biographers and war chroniclers or *Hadith* scholars, or historians. Shortly the Prophet's words will come at their time, through Sound (*Sahih*) chain, "I am a Prophet, no lie in it, I am the son of Ibn 'Abdul-Muttalib" in connection with the Hunayn campaign.

did the Prophet ﷺ. Prophet Muhammad ﷺ spent a long time fighting these evils. Ibn 'Abbās ؓ said, "If you wish to know the state of the Arabs in pre-Islamic times, read Verses 130 onwards of Surat Al-An'ām." Allāh (ﷻ) said:

﴿وَإِذَا الْمَوْءِدَةُ سُئِلَتْ ﴿٨﴾ بِأَيِّ ذَنْبٍ قُتِلَتْ ﴿٩﴾﴾

"When the (infant) buried alive will be asked: For what sin was it killed?"¹⁶⁶

Or:

﴿وَإِذَا بُشِّرَ أَحَدُهُمْ بِمَا ضَرَبَ لِلرَّحْمَنِ مَثَلًا ظَلَّ وَجْهُهُ مُسْوَدًّا وَهُوَ كَظِيمٌ ﴿١٧﴾﴾

"When one of them is given the glad tidings of the same thing as they attribute to Allāh, (daughters to Him), his face darkens and he is trying hard to suppress his anger."¹⁶⁷

And:

﴿وَإِذَا بُشِّرَ أَحَدُهُمْ بِالْأُنْثَىٰ ظَلَّ وَجْهُهُ مُسْوَدًّا وَهُوَ كَظِيمٌ ﴿٥٨﴾ يَتَوَارَىٰ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ مِن سُوءِ مَا بُشِّرَ بِهِ ۚ أَيُمْسِكُهُ عَلَىٰ هُونٍ أَمْ يَدُسُّهُ فِي التُّرَابِ ۗ أَلَا سَاءَ مَا يَحْكُمُونَ ﴿٥٩﴾﴾

"When one of them is given the glad tidings of a female child, his face darkens and he tries hard to suppress his anger. He hides himself from the people out of the evil he was told about. (He considers:) should he accept her in shame, or should he bury her in the earth? Lo! Evil is that which they judge."¹⁶⁸

Or:

﴿إِنَّمَا الْخَمْرُ وَالْمَيْسِرُ وَالْأَنْصَابُ وَالْأَزْلَامُ رِجْسٌ مِّنْ عَمَلِ الشَّيْطَانِ فَاجْتَنِبُوهُ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ ﴿٩٠﴾﴾

¹⁶⁶ Surat At-Takwir: 8-9.

¹⁶⁷ Surat Az-Zukhruf: 17.

¹⁶⁸ Surat An-Nahl: 58-59.

"Verily, intoxicants, game of chance, stone altars and divining arrows are an abomination – handiwork of Shaytan. Therefore, shun them, haply you will prosper."¹⁶⁹

And:

﴿وَلَا تَقْتُلُوا أَوْلَادَكُمْ مِّنْ إِمْلَاقٍ﴾

"Do not kill your children out of fear of poverty."¹⁷⁰

﴿وَلَا تَقْتُلُوا أَوْلَادَكُمْ خَشْيَةَ إِمْلَاقٍ﴾

"And kill not your children for fear of poverty."¹⁷¹

Some of the marriage practices prevalent among the common folk weren't very different from prostitution. Bukhārī¹⁷² and Abu Dāwud¹⁷³ have preserved a report about this from 'Āishah ؓ. She said: "Four kinds of marriages were prevalent among the pre-Islamic Arabs. One of them was similar to the one now prevalent. Another was lending of one's wife. In this system, a man had intercourse with a woman who hadn't had sex with her husband between two menstrual courses. Following that, the husband did not go near her until he was sure whether she was pregnant from the person she had sex with or not. Then there was the group marriage in which a group of people, less than ten, assembled and had sex with a woman. When she got pregnant and brought the child, she sent for them and designated one of them as the child's father. A fourth marriage was the one in which a woman hoisted a flag on her house. A lot of people went and had sex with her. When she brought a child, they hired a tracker who declared one of them nearest in resemblance to the child as the child's father. When Islam came, it declared all these practices as unacceptable except the first

¹⁶⁹ Surat Al-Mâ'idah: 90.

¹⁷⁰ Surat Al-An'ām: 151.

¹⁷¹ Surat Al-Isrâ': 31.

¹⁷² Al-Fath (19/220-222/H. 5127).

¹⁷³ Sunan (2/702-703/The Book of Talāq/H. 2272). Its chain is Good (Hasan) reaching 'Āishah ؓ.

one." Moreover, none of those who indulged in these practices felt any shame. The *Sahihayn*¹⁷⁴ have a report which says that a man got up and proclaimed, "O Messenger of Allāh. So-and-so is my son. I had sex with his mother in pre-Islamic times." The Prophet ﷺ replied, "After Islam, such a claim is not valid. Pre-Islamic affairs are behind us. (The rule now is that) the child belongs to the mother and for the man exile."

A little later in this work we shall recount another story involving Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās and 'Abd bin Zam'ah concerning a son of Zam'ah's slave-girl.

In those days they took into marriage two real sisters at a time; also marrying the wives of their fathers at their death or when they divorced them. Hence Allāh (ﷻ) said:

﴿وَأَنْ تَجْمَعُوا بَيْنَ الْأُخْتَيْنِ إِلَّا مَا قَدْ سَلَفَ﴾

"(It is forbidden) that you should keep together two sisters in marriage, except for what has been (in the past)."¹⁷⁵

And:

﴿وَلَا تَنْكِحُوا مَا نَكَحَ آبَاؤُكُمْ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ﴾

"Do not marry those your fathers married."¹⁷⁶

Divorce also had no limit. They divorced any number of times.¹⁷⁷ Islam reduced it to two through the Qur'ānic dictum:

﴿الطَّلَاقُ مَرَّتَانٍ﴾

"Divorce is only twice."¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (9/138/H. 2053); *Muslim* (2/1080/H. 1457). Also in others of the six canonical works and other collectors.

¹⁷⁵ *Surat An-Nisa'*: 23.

¹⁷⁶ *Surat An-Nisa'*: 22.

¹⁷⁷ *Abu Dāwūd: Sunan* (2/644-645/The Book of *Tālaq*/H. 2195) and its chain is Sound (*Sahih*).

¹⁷⁸ *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 229, and see commentary on it in *Tafsir* works.

Admittedly though, there were some good characteristics among the Arabs and their societies, and a few bright spots despite the above moral weaknesses. Those could be the reason why Allāh (ﷻ) chose them to bear the burden of His last Message to mankind. One such factor is that, as against the case with many other peoples of the world, their corrupt ways were not based in a complex philosophy with deep roots in their souls that could not be uprooted. Further, they were men of strong resolve who proved true to their words once they had uttered them. The Qur'ān mentions this in one passage. It says:

﴿مَنْ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ فَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَضَىٰ نَجْبَهُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَنْتَظِرُ وَمَا بَدَّلُوا بَدِيلًا ۚ﴾ (٢٣)

"Among the believers are men who proved true in what they had promised Allāh. So, there are some among them who have fulfilled their obligation, while others are waiting. And they never changed (their resolve)."¹⁷⁹

There were many among them who bore good qualities and appreciated those who bore good qualities. This is apparent from their attitude towards the Prophet ﷺ. We shall later mention the story of Abu Sufyān's conversation with Heraclius to illustrate this point.

Again, the minds of the Arabs of those times were like clean slates: ready to receive and retain the right ideas. The mind's freedom from ideas allowed for a powerful memory. We have Ibn 'Abdul-Barr reporting Ibn Shihāb Zuhri's words, "I pass by the (market) at Baqi' and block my ears so that useless ideas do not enter into my head. For, by Allāh, nothing entered into my head that I forgot." Ibn 'Abdul-Barr¹⁸⁰ also wrote that there were some who heard a poem only once but remembered it in full thereafter. It is reported of Ibn 'Abbās (رضي الله عنه) that he memorized the whole of a long poem following a single hearing.

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"Among the believers are men who proved true in what they had promised Allāh. So, there are some among them who have fulfilled their obligation, while others are waiting. And they never changed (their resolve)."¹⁷⁹

There were many among them who bore good qualities and appreciated those who bore good qualities. This is apparent from their attitude towards the Prophet ﷺ. We shall later mention the story of Abu Sufyān's conversation with Heraclius to illustrate this point.

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¹⁷⁹ *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 23.

¹⁸⁰ *Jāmi' Bayān-ul-'Ilm wa Fadlihi* (1/69-70) through a Sound (*Sahih*) chain.

We are not surprised, therefore, by the number of traditions that persons like Ibn 'Abbās, Abu Hurayrah, 'Āishah and Ibn Mas'ūd have narrated.

Abu Hurayrah ؓ for instance has five thousand, three hundred and seventy-four *Ahādith* to his credit. Ibn 'Umar ؓ narrated two thousand six hundred and thirty *Ahādith*.¹⁸¹

Another characteristic was that they greatly valued freedom and independence. They would not bend down to anyone except their leaders who commanded their respect by displaying the qualities that they approved of, such as chivalry, patience and forbearance.

Moreover, despite their worship of idols, they did not deny God's existence. The Qur'ān said:

﴿وَلَيْنِ سَأَلْتَهُمْ مَنْ خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَسَخَّرَ الشَّمْسَ وَالْقَمَرَ لَيَقُولُنَّ اللَّهُ﴾

*"When they are asked, 'Who created the heavens and the earth, and overpowered the sun and the moon?' Surely they will say, 'Allāh.'"*¹⁸²

And:

﴿وَلَيْنِ سَأَلْتَهُمْ مَنْ نَزَّلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ مَاءً فَأَحْيَا بِهِ الْأَرْضَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَوْتِهَا لَيَقُولُنَّ اللَّهُ﴾

*"If you asked them, 'Who sends down water from the heavens and quickens the earth after it was dead?' Surely, they will answer, 'Allāh.'"*¹⁸³

Another advantage they had was that they spoke a single language: a language that was powerful and eloquent to magical limits. It was capable of communicating in the most precise manner ideas and concepts presented by Islam.

¹⁸¹ See Ibn Hazm: *Jawāmi'us-Sirah*, pp. 275-276.

¹⁸² *Surat Al-'Ankabut*: 61.

¹⁸³ *Surat Al-'Ankabut*: 63.

Rest of the World

The Jews

Religious Life

Both the Jewish and Christian religions subjected their revealed messages to alterations and interpolations.¹⁸⁴ In consequence, they lost the original spirit and never rose up to play a constructive role in the removal of the corruption they had come to fight.

Judaism, which, aside from the corruptions it brought to religious principles, claimed that it was a religion for the Jews alone. Although they believed in the Oneness of God—a blessing bestowed on them apart from others of the human race—they were heavily influenced by the beliefs and practices of the pagans among whom they lived, or were in their neighborhood, or who overcame them. Fair-minded Jewish scholars have accepted this historical fact. For example, the Jewish Encyclopedia tells us that the fact that the

¹⁸⁴ The Qur'ān has in several places mentioned the alteration and corruption of the previous revealed Scriptures. See in this regard the following books:

- The Bible, the Qur'ān and Modern Science* by Maurice Bucaille;
- The Struggle between Religion and Science* by Draper.
- At-Tawrah* by Dr. Mustafa Mahmud, Dar Al-'Awdah, Beirut, 1972.
- The Myth Personified in Jesus Christ*, by seven British theologians headed by Dr. John Heck, professor at the Divinity College, Birmingham.
- Majallatu Kulliyati Usulid-Din*, Imam Muhammad bin Sa'ud Islamic University, first volume, 1397/98, pp. 27-66.
- Ar-Raddus-Sahih 'Ala Man Baddala Dinal-Masih*, Ibn Taymiyyah.
- Al-Fasl fil-Milali wal-Ahwā' wan-Nihal*, Ibn Hazm, esp. vol. 1 and 2.
- Izhārul-Haq*, Rahmatullah Hindi.
- Al-'Aqā'idul-Wathaniyyatu fid-Diyānatin-Nasrāniyyati*, Muhammad Tanir.

Jewish Prophets expressed their anger and frustration at their idol-worship implies that it was fairly wide-spread among the Israelites and that it could not be uprooted despite their exile to Babylonia.¹⁸⁵ The Israelites seem to have also accepted polytheistic influences. Talmud¹⁸⁶ confirms that idol-worship was quite deep-rooted among the Israelites.

In addition, the Torah and the Talmud are full of writings that do not befit Allāh, His Messengers, or Prophets. For example, one finds in the Torah (the Old Testament) that after the act¹⁸⁷ of creation God felt tired and needed to rest on the seventh day. He blessed this day because he quit all works and took complete rest.¹⁸⁸ Following this, the Jews do not work on Saturdays.

The Old Testament narrates the story of Adam and Eve (Hawwa), on both be peace, that, "They heard the sound of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day. The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God among the trees of the garden. But the Lord God called to the man, and said to him, 'Where are you?' And he said, 'I heard the sound of thee in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself.' He said, 'Who told you that you were naked? Have you eaten of the tree of which I commanded you not to eat?'" (Genesis, ch. 3)

The image of God thus presented is that of a human, who does not even know what's happening in his backyard.¹⁸⁹ To the above the Torah adds that after Adam ate of the Tree of Knowledge, he

¹⁸⁵ Same ref. as in (e) above, f.n. 202.

¹⁸⁶ This is a compendium that aims at the instruction and training of the Jews in their religion. It is a collection of books and commentaries on *Mishna* (meaning Law) produced by Jewish scholars of past times. See *At-Tālmud: Tārikhuhu wa Ta'ālimuhu* by Zafarul-Islam Khan.

¹⁸⁷ See *At-Tawrātus-Sāmiriyyah*, translated by Rabbi Sāmiri: Abul-Hasan Ishāq Sury, a Dārul-Ansār Egypt publication.

¹⁸⁸ See Genesis, ch. 2.

¹⁸⁹ See Genesis, ch. 3. Compare this with the Islamic concept expressed in the Words of Allāh: "You are not in an affair, and you do not recite the Qur'ān, nor do you do a deed, but We are witness over you when you indulge in it." (Surat Yunus: 61). And: "Surely, We have created man and know what passes in his heart and We are nearer to him than his jugular vein." (Surat Qāf: 16)

rose up to the Divine level because of his sinful act. He acquired knowledge of good and evil, despite the fact that when He created him, His Lord had wished that he should remain ignorant. The Lord, in fact, pushed him out of Paradise because he feared that Adam would rise in power and one day he and his wife would eat of the Tree of Eternity and remain in Paradise forever.¹⁹⁰ Further, God was surprised by the corrupt behavior of the humans on earth and regretted that He had created them at all.¹⁹¹

Similarly God is shown in their Books as regretting the Flood that drowned everybody.¹⁹² It is also alleged that He accepted to be a guest of Ibrāhīm عليه السلام and went to his house, in the company of two angels, to enjoy a meal.¹⁹³

Again, the corrupted Torah portrays God as entering into a wrestling bout with His Messenger and slave Ya'qub (Jacob). The match lasts the whole of a night. When it became clear that Ya'qub would emerge victorious, God was forced to play a trick on him. He broke his thigh bone to disable him. Nevertheless, Ya'qub would not let God go before he had extracted from Him "the blessing" and the title "Israel."¹⁹⁴

God, as portrayed in the Torah, is exclusively the God of the Israelites. They are a chosen people and the others are not beloved. Non-Jews are like cattle about whom God is not concerned.¹⁹⁵ Accordingly, the Israelites cultivate among themselves a hatred for the rest of the people, especially the Arabs. This factor is the foundation stone of their religion. Accordingly, one finds in the Torah Prophet Nūh عليه السلام depicted as getting drunk and lying flat disclosing his private parts. When his son Ham, the progenitor of the Kan'ān (Canaan) tribes, happened to spot him in that state he had a good laugh and dishonored his father before his other sons Shem (Sām) and Japheth (Yāfith). They saw him too in that state, but

¹⁹⁰ Genesis, ch. 3.

¹⁹¹ Genesis, ch. 6.

¹⁹² Genesis, ch. 9.

¹⁹³ Genesis, ch. 8.

¹⁹⁴ Genesis, ch. 23.

¹⁹⁵ Genesis, ch. 6; 7.

not his private parts. When Nūh came to himself and came to know of what had happened, he cursed Ham. In the words of the Torah, he said, "Cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers." He also said, "Blessed by the Lord my God be Shem; and let Canaan be his slave."¹⁹⁶

The apparent objective of the story is to put the sons of Ham – the Canaanites – to disgrace, although in no way they sinned in this incident. The story also aims at glorifying the Israelites, the sons of Shem.

Similarly, the Jews portray another Prophet, Lut, as getting drunk and committing fornication with his own two daughters, who got pregnant by him. They claim that the Mo'abites are the sons of Mo'ab, one of those daughters.¹⁹⁷ The objective was once again to disgrace their enemies, the Mo'abites. All this was done in the name of revelation.

Allāh spoke the truth when He said in the Qur'ān:

﴿وَإِنَّ مِنْهُمْ لَفَرِيقًا يَلْوُنَ أَلْسِنَتَهُم بِالْكِتَابِ لِتَحْسَبُوهُ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ وَمَا هُوَ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ وَيَقُولُونَ هُوَ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ وَمَا هُوَ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ وَيَقُولُونَ عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكَذِبَ وَهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٧٨﴾﴾

"Among them are some who twist the tongue with the (words of the) Book, so that you may suppose it part of the Book, while it is not part of the Book. And they say, 'This is from Allāh,' while it is not from Allāh, and fasten lies upon Allāh while they know."¹⁹⁸

And:

﴿فَوَيْلٌ لِلَّذِينَ يَكْتُمُونَ الْكِتَابَ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ ثُمَّ يَقُولُونَ هَذَا مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ لِيَشْتَرُوا بِهِ ثَمَنًا قَلِيلًا فَوَيْلٌ لَهُمْ مِمَّا كَتَبَتْ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَوَيْلٌ لَهُمْ مِمَّا يَكْسِبُونَ ﴿٧٩﴾﴾

¹⁹⁶ Genesis, ch. 9:25-26. Also see: *Al Milal wan-Nihal* of Ibn Hazm, vol. 1, p. 123.

¹⁹⁷ Genesis, ch. 19.

¹⁹⁸ Surat Āl 'Imrān: 78.

"Woe then unto those who write the book with their hands and then say, 'This is from Allāh,' in order to purchase a paltry price thereof. Woe then unto them for what their hands wrote and woe unto them for what they earned."¹⁹⁹

The Torah also gives to understand that all non-Israeli women are prostitutes and their men *Goyem*²⁰⁰ who can be killed with complete impunity. Whoever kills a non-Jew in effect offers a sacrifice to God.²⁰¹

Could such a book be called a Holy Revelation of God which guides the people to righteousness and piety?

It is these kinds of beliefs that have rendered the Jews arrogant towards every noble value, while they freely pursue their worldly objectives. An example is the "Protocol" worked out by the Zionists. To achieve their objectives, they do not hesitate from slandering the Prophets too. They portray Ibrāhim (عليه السلام) as a greedy man of the world. They pass the story that he sent his wife to Fir'awn and asked her to pretend to him that she was his sister in order to get some sheep and donkey from him. The Torah reports him as saying to her that she should say she is his sister since it was good for Abraham (Ibrāhim) to protect his own life.²⁰²

Similarly, they show that Ya'qub (عليه السلام) (Jacob) stole Messengership from his elder brother by a cunning trick. Most strangely,²⁰³ they present one of Ya'qub's daughters, Dina, as a fornicator who slept with the chief of a neighboring kingdom.²⁰⁴

The Talmud says that Jesus Christ was an illegitimate son whom his mother carried after her evil act with a soldier called Bāndāra. Jesus himself is portrayed as a liar, mad, misguided,

¹⁹⁹ Surat Al-Baqarah: 79

²⁰⁰ The meaning that they take of the textual word *Goyem* is either a slave or a donkey.

²⁰¹ See *Thaqāfatul-Muslimi fi Wajhit-Tayyārātil-Mu'āsirah* by Dr. Abdul Halim 'Uways, Nadiul-'Adabi, Riyadh, 1399, pp. 121-122.

²⁰² Genesis, ch. 21.

²⁰³ See Genesis, ch. 27.

²⁰⁴ See the whole story in Genesis, ch. 34.

magician, trickster and pagan. The Talmud regards the Christians as no better than a piece of bloodied cloth thrown away by a woman in her periods. They are referred to as pagans, murderers, corrupt, animals, filthy, donkeys, pigs and dogs.²⁰⁵

The Torah also reports Prophet Dāwud عليه السلام (David) committing sin with the wife of one of his soldiers and making her pregnant. This happened when he saw her on the roof of her house. Dāwud is said to have promptly dispatched her husband to the most dangerous spot on the battlefield in order to get him killed and then marry his widow.²⁰⁶

Can a Prophet possibly commit such things and yet be a guide unto mankind?

The Qur'ān took up many of these perversions for questioning, and criticized the contents of their holy books. For example, speaking of their inclination to idol-worship, despite the fact that Musa عليه السلام (Moses) was still among them, it said:

﴿أَجْعَلْ لَنَا إِلَهًا كَمَا لَهُمْ آلِهَةٌ﴾

“(They said), ‘Appoint for us an idol, as the others have their idols.’”²⁰⁷

While Musa عليه السلام was absent for a while, they were told by Hārūn عليه السلام (Aaron) to give up their idol-worship, they replied:

﴿لَنْ نَبْرَحَ عَلَيْهِ عَاكِفِينَ حَتَّىٰ يَرْجِعَ إِلَيْنَا مُوسَىٰ﴾ (٩١)

“We shall continue to squat (before them) until Musa comes back.”²⁰⁸

The Qur'ān criticized the fact that despite Musa's presence, their pagan leanings had remained strong. It said:

﴿وَلَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ مُوسَىٰ بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ ثُمَّ اتَّخَذْتُمُ الْعِجْلَ مِن بَعْدِهِ وَأَنْتُمْ

²⁰⁵ See *At-Tawrāt* by Dr. Mustafa Mahmud, pp. 67-70.

²⁰⁶ See *Thaqāfatul-Muslimi fi Wajhit-Tahaddiyyātil-Mu'āsirah* by Dr. Abdul Halim 'Uways.

²⁰⁷ *Surat Al-A'raf*: 138.

²⁰⁸ *Surat Ta-Ha*: 91, and the whole story in *Ta-Ha*: 83-97.

ظَلِمْتُمْ ۝ ٩٢ وَأَشْرَبُوا فِي قُلُوبِهِمُ الْعِجْلَ بِكُفْرِهِمْ . . .

“And surely, Musa came to you with clear signs, but you took the calf (for worship) thereafter, and you were transgressing... until ... and their hearts were drunk with their disbelief...”²⁰⁹

Their arrogant behavior was also portrayed by the Qur'ān, such as their words:

﴿أَرَنَا اللَّهَ جَهْرَةً﴾

“Show us Allāh, clearly.”²¹⁰

And, acting arrogant against Allāh, they said as is shown in *Surat Al-Mā'idah*: 64:

﴿وَقَالَتِ الْيَهُودُ يَدُ اللَّهِ مَغْلُولَةٌ غُلَّتْ أَيْدِيهِمْ﴾

“And the Jews say, ‘Allāh's Hand is tied up...’”

And:

﴿وَقَالَتِ الْيَهُودُ عُزَيْرٌ ابْنُ اللَّهِ﴾

“And the Jews say, ‘Uzayr is a son of God.’”²¹¹

They also attributed Divine powers to their priestly class. The Qur'ān said:

﴿اتَّخَذُوا أَحْبَارَهُمْ وَرُهْبَانَهُمْ أَرْبَابًا مِّن دُونِ اللَّهِ﴾

“They took their priests and ascetics deities besides Allāh.”²¹²

The Qur'ān also reported their bold alteration of the revelation of Allāh in words:

﴿فَوَيْلٌ لِّلَّذِينَ يَكْتُمُونَ الْكِتَابَ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ ثُمَّ يَقُولُونَ هَذَا مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ لِيَشْتَرُوا

²⁰⁹ *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 92, 93.

²¹⁰ *Surat An-Nisa'*: 153.

²¹¹ *Surat At-Tawbah*: 30.

²¹² *Surat At-Tawbah*: 31.

بِهِ ثَمَنًا قَلِيلًا فَوَيْلٌ لَهُمْ مِمَّا كَتَبَتْ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَوَيْلٌ لَهُمْ مِمَّا يَكْسِبُونَ ﴿٧٩﴾

"Woe then unto those who write the book with their hands and then say, 'This is from Allāh,' in order to purchase a paltry price thereof. Woe then unto them for what their hands wrote and woe unto them for what they earned."²¹³

It also said:

﴿أَفَنظَمُونَ أَنْ يُؤْمِنُوا لَكُمْ وَقَدْ كَانَ فَرِيقٌ مِنْهُمْ يَسْمَعُونَ كَلِمَ اللَّهِ ثُمَّ يُحَرِّفُونَهُ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا عَقَلُوهُ وَهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ﴾ ﴿٧٥﴾

"Do you (O Muslims) covet that they believe when there have been a party among them who listened to Allāh's Words and then altered it, after they had understood it – knowingly."²¹⁴

The Qur'ān also told us about their attitude towards the Messengers of Allāh saying:

﴿أَفَكُلَّمَا جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ بِمَا لَا تَهْوَى أَنْفُسُكُمْ اسْتَكْبَرْتُمْ فَفَرِيقًا كَذَّبْتُمْ وَفَرِيقًا تَقْتُلُونَ﴾ ﴿٨٧﴾

"Is it not that whenever a Messenger came to you with that which your passion did not approve, so that some of them you cried lies to while others you murdered?"²¹⁵

It also said:

﴿كَانُوا يَكْفُرُونَ بِآيَاتِ اللَّهِ وَيَقْتُلُونَ النَّبِيِّنَ بِغَيْرِ

"They used to disbelieve in the revelations of Allāh and murder the Prophets without right."²¹⁶

²¹³ Surat Al-Baqarah: 79.

²¹⁴ Surat Al-Baqarah: 75.

²¹⁵ Surat Al-Baqarah: 87.

²¹⁶ Surat Al-Baqarah: 61.

It also said:

﴿فَلِمَ تَقْتُلُونَ أَنْبِيَاءَ اللَّهِ مِنْ قَبْلُ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ﴾ ﴿٩١﴾

"Why then did you murder Allāh's Prophets, if you were believers?"²¹⁷

The above quotations from the Noble Qur'ān, and those from the holy literatures of the Jews, provide sufficient proof of the corruptions and perversions into which the Jews had fallen.

Socio-Political Life

Allāh (ﷻ) never meant to send down a religion that completely lacked humanism. The Jews completely disfigured their religion to make it one that had no aspect of mercy in it for the humankind, fastening upon the Prophets of God such low qualities as unbefitting ordinary men. No wonder that they have remained at war with the non-Jews to this day.

In the seventh century we find that they engineered a clash between the Christians and the Persians in Antioch resulting in a slaughter of the Christians. Similarly they aided the Persians in the persecution of the Christians in Shām, murdering by their own hands a large number of them in Sur. It was right then that the Roman emperor Heraclius took revenge on them when he learnt of their role in the slaughter of the Christians.²¹⁸

We find the Qur'ān, therefore, describing very accurately their situation in the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era, and the perversion of their behavior and attitude, individually as well as collectively, rendering them unfit for the moral leadership of the world. Allāh said:

﴿... ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ قَالُوا لَيْسَ عَلَيْنَا فِي الْأُمِّيَّتِ سَبِيلٌ وَيَقُولُونَ عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكَذِبَ وَهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ﴾ ﴿٧٥﴾

²¹⁷ Surat Al-Baqarah: 91.

²¹⁸ Al-Maqrizi: Al-Khutatul-Maqriziyah, (4/392 and what follows).

"That because they say 'there is nothing binding on us regarding the unlettered ones.' They fasten a lie upon Allāh while they know."²¹⁹

Down at Yathrib, the Jews, who dominated trade and economically exploited the poor Arabs, instigated wars between Aws and Khazraj. Later, they antagonized the Prophet ﷺ and tried their deceptive hand on the Muslims quite too often, until on Allāh's command, the Prophet ﷺ expelled them from Madinah and, following up his instructions, 'Umar ؓ expelled them out of the Arabian Peninsula. That was the only way of doing away with their mischief and conspiracies.²²⁰

The Christians

Religious Life

Apart from suffering interpolations and alterations at the hands of its adherents, Christianity was subjected to other kinds of corruption.²²¹ One was incorporation of pagan, Greek and Roman

²¹⁹ Surat Āl 'Imrān: 75.

²²⁰ See the following works for details of their attitude towards Islam: The Qur'ān and its commentaries, such as of *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 40-44 and what follows. *Sirat Ibn Ishāq*, 'Uyunul-Athar fi Fununil-Maghāzi was-Siyar by Ibn Sayyidin-Nās, *Fiqhus-Siratin-Nabawiyyah* Muhammad Ghazālī, *Fiqhus-Siratin-Nabawiyyah* by Dr. Muhammad Sa'eed Ramadān Buti, etc.

²²¹ Dr. Muhammad Abu Ghayt took up the study of the history of the four approved Gospels: Matthew, Marks, Luke and John. He writes: "In what has preceded, we have presented the history of the Gospels as accepted by the Christians, and the extent to which they can be attributed to the authors attributed to them. We have pointed out that, e.g., there is no relationship between Matthew and the present-day Gospel, for his name was entered in the Greek version translated from the Hebrew and that we could not establish, as the Bible critics have not been able to establish whether the translator added fresh material as his own notes and explanations or whether he was honest in his work of translation.

Further, the absence of the original after the appearance of the translation

superstitions. It led to a dilution of the teachings of Christ. Over time, it led to the transformation of their religion into one burdened with pagan ideas. Its marked characteristic was that it acted as a barrier between human beings on the one side and reason, logic and knowledge, on the other. Rev. James Houston Baxter²²² expressed it lucidly and accurately when he said, in effect, "Paganism had been routed, but not extinguished. Rather, it possessed a passionate corner in the hearts, and its practices manifested in the garb of Christianity. Those who gave up the idols, took a few of them into Christianity in the name of Martyrs attributing them with the

and the concealment of the name of the translator reduces the weight very much. It seems the translator was one of the students of Matthew.

It is also established that Marks was not one of the Apostles that he took his Gospel from his master Peter; that the Gospel of Luke was not meant to be an epistle of authority. It was largely composed of events and occurrences that he learnt from others. It is not free of errors but rather is mixed with interpolations that need a set of principles to get rid of. It is another thing that Luke was not one of the Apostles but rather a student of Paul who is known as the first corrupter of the Christian religion.

It is also clearly established that it is highly doubtful that the Gospel of John as attributed to him is truly his. It can be assumed that whoever did it, introduced Hellenistic thoughts into it.

It has also been said that the Apostles of Jesus Christ did not understand but through metaphors and similitudes. Hence, his extensive use of these modes of speech. When we take into consideration all these facts, it is not difficult to conclude that these Gospels are as far from being revealed as the heaven is from the earth. We might add that the present-day Gospels are only related to the Gospel of Jesus Christ by a thread thinner than that of a spider's thread. It is but a few phrases, spread here and there, that can be related to the Noble Qu'rān and which can be said to be evidences in favor of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ.

Ibn Hazm has in his work *Al-Milal wan-Nihal*, listed the various contradictions that exist between the four Gospels, and between them and the Torah, that cannot be resolved."

For the give-and-take relationship between Christianity and pagan religions, see *Tārikh Ibn Bitriq*, *Anwārul-Jalil fi Akhbār Misr* by Rifā'ah Tahtāwi, *Izhārul-Haq* by Rahmatullah Hindi, and the *Story of Civilization* by Will Durant.

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attributions of divinity. In the next step they carved their statues. In this manner the idol-worship of the past was imported into Christianity under new names and new garb. This is how the worship of the saints and martyrs was incorporated into Christianity. The belief that came along was that since these figures had some of the attributes of divinity in them, they could be resorted to for intercession and used as intermediary figures between God and man. Thus, the names changed, realities did not. It came to such a pass that by 400 AC, the yearly festival day of the Sun-God was converted into Christ's birthday." (*History of Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, Glasgow, 1926. p. 4070).

What Abu Ghayt has to say about Christian paganism ends on the following note: "During the days of oppression, idol-worship remained raising and lowering its flag, following the efforts of the Christian priestly class to appease the Roman emperors who persisted in their desires that their statues be revered. Anyone who opposed their desires was persecuted and faced burning on the stake and destruction of property. Christian history is full of such stories. Finally, after a long struggle, Christianity bowed to the Roman pressure as well as the pressures from those who had converted to the Christian faith, but showed no inclination to give up the idols the Christians had inherited from their forefathers."

In addition, Christians introduced priesthood into their religion, and interpolated into the New Testament what no man of sound mind would accept. Ibn Hazm for instance, one of those who took up a comparative study, reached astonishing conclusions when he studied Christianity from its sources and debated with the Christians. He wrote: "The Jacobites amongst the Christians claim that Jesus was God himself who was crucified and had died on the cross. They said the world remained without God for three days, until He arose and returned to His Throne. Thus, God, though eternal, became the created in Mary's womb. This is what the Qur'an criticized about Christian beliefs (in *Surat Al-Mā'idah*: 72):

﴿لَقَدْ كَفَرَ الَّذِينَ قَالُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ الْمَسِيحُ ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ﴾

"Surely, those people committed disbelief who said that Jesus Christ is God."

And (in Verse 73 of the same):

﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ ثَالِثُ ثَلَاثَةٍ﴾

"They said, 'Allāh is the third of the three.'"

And, Allāh said reporting the words of 'Isā on the Day of Judgement (in the same *Surah*, Verse 116):

﴿أَأَنْتَ قُلْتَ لِلنَّاسِ اتَّخِذُونِي وَأُمِّي إِلَهَيْنِ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ﴾

"Did you tell the people, 'Declare both me and my mother gods besides Allāh?'"

If not for these statements in the Qur'ān, no Muslim would dare repeat what the Christians claim as their beliefs. By Allāh, if we hadn't met the Christians, we wouldn't have believed that there can be people so far removed from reason and logic." Ibn Hazm follows up with the words, "We wish these people could tell us who ruled the heavens and the earth during the three days when God was dead. We might also ask these people who claim that the Lord is composed of three elements: the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, if the three are in one, co-equal, then why did you have to name them the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost? Is not in this scheme the Father Himself the Son, the Son the Father etc.? The Gospel refutes their belief that they are co-equal. It reports Christ as having said that on the Judgement Day he will occupy a position on the right hand side of God. But they contradict themselves by saying that no one but the Father knows when the Day of Judgement will be called. It is clear that the Father is not the Son and vice versa. And if the three are different, which is something the Christians don't accept, then surely, each has to be lesser than the others in Attributes and Qualities. Obviously any Quality that suffers diminution cannot be eternal."²²³

As for the Christian belief in the truth of the Gospels, Ibn Hazm summarized the objections in the following words: "The following

²²³ Al-Milal wan-Nihal (1/49).

are seventy instance of forgeries, misstatements and contradictions in the Gospels that cannot be resolved. Some of these forgeries are composed of three forgeries or less.

"For instance, sometimes the texts claim that Jesus was God's son, at other times that he was Joseph's son, and at another time he was David's son and, finally, son of a man. At some places they say he was God who creates and nourishes, at another place it is stated he is God's lamb. On another occasion it is said that he is God with God within him. Yet, he is "in" his disciples or the disciples are "in" him. He is also God's Knowledge and His Power. In other places it is stated that he does not judge anyone and does not execute His will. In some places he is a Prophet and a slave of Allāh. On one occasion, God surrendered him to his enemies. Yet, he is also portrayed as one who was bestowed the Kingdom of God so that he could decide on the lawful and unlawful. Yet the same Jesus also suffered pangs of hunger asking to be fed. He felt thirsty and drank water. He sweated from fear and cursed a fig tree for not finding a fruit on it. Then he was arrested, slapped and hit on the head, spat in the face, whipped on the back, taken to the cross, made to drink vinegar and was finally crucified between two thieves on a cross with his hands nailed to it. When dead, he was buried, but after an interval he arose. Interestingly, when given a new life, his first and most important concern when he met with his disciples was food. He demanded to be fed. They offered him bread and fried fish, topping it with honey. After that he attended his affairs..."

After writing the above, Ibn Hazm lists down the lies, blasphemies and slanders which were introduced into (holy) books other than the Gospels.

Surely, when Judaism and Christianity stooped to this level, humanity stood in the need of a new Messenger. So, Muhammad the son of 'Abdullah, was sent down to rescue the humanity and establish a religion which the world was glad to receive.²²⁴

²²⁴ *Al-Milal wan-Nihal* (2/69).

Socio-Political Life

The seventh century dawned to witness wars between the Christians of Shām under the tutelage of the Roman empire, and the Christians of Egypt. The cause was the disagreement over the nature of Jesus Christ. The former were known as Malachias while the latter as Minophites.

The Malachias (Malkāniyah) believed in the dual nature of Jesus Christ while the Minophites (Minofisiyah) believed in a single nature. Thus the Christian world was engaged in a struggle with its own community, instead of attending to the corruption in the world and inviting the people to the truth.²²⁵ The Copts of Egypt were subjected to persecution at the hands of those of the Christians who lived in the territories of the Roman Empire. On the eastern front, people faced such hardships that they preferred to live under foreign rule and rebellions ensued. In the year 532 CE, it is said that some 30,000 people were killed in Constantinople alone.²²⁶ They went to the extremes in resorting to ways of torture.²²⁷

In the Byzantine Egypt a reign of religious persecution and political persecution brought about suffering, oppression and hunger in a land which they milked but forgot to feed. The people were only relieved of their suffering by the arrival of the Muslim armies, as acknowledged by the Christians themselves, such as Gustave Le Bon.²²⁸

In Shām, the Byzantines overburdened the people with taxes to the extent that they were forced to sell their houses to pay back loans.²²⁹

As for northern and western Europe, they faced permanent state of wars and lived under complete darkness of high ignorance.

²²⁵ See: Bentlar: *Fathul-'Arab li Misr*, Arabic translation by Muhammad Farid Abu Hadid, pp. 37-38, 47.

²²⁶ See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, art. Justinian.

²²⁷ See Edward Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, translated by Muhammad 'Ali Abu Durrah, pp. 3-5.

²²⁸ *Hadāratul-'Arab*, translated by 'Ādil Zu'aytir, Dar Ihya Al-Turāth Al-'Arabi, Beirut, 1399, p. 258.

²²⁹ See Muhammad Kurd 'Ali, *Khutatush-Shām* (1/101).

They discussed issues such as: "Is a woman an animal or a human being?" and "Does she possess a soul or not?" and "Can she be given the right to buy or sell property?"²³⁰

The Magians

Religious Life

Before the appearance of Zoroaster,²³¹ Iran had known the faith of a trinity comprised of Mithra, Yeyma, and Asha. The faith continued to command its influence even after the appearance of Zoroastrian religion which was strongly influenced by the older religion. In this system certain natural objects were held sacred, such as fire and stars. Deities of several kinds were also objects of worship.

Initially, Zoroastrianism stood against the religion of Mithra, Yeyma and Asha. It invited the people to the worship of one God and to eschew idols of stone. It tried to do away with the worship of stars and other celestial objects. Nevertheless it allowed holy functions to the sun and fire in the new religion since the two symbolized power and never ceased to radiate light and mercy. They helped man against his adversaries.²³² Zoroastrianism also allowed sanctity of dust, water and air for their important role in the life of the humans.

²³⁰ *As-Sirātun-Nabawīyyah*, pp. 18-19; *Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātul-Muslimin*, p. 44.

²³¹ He is a Prophet of the ancient Iranians. See his life in Shahrīstānī: *Al-Milal wan-Nihal* (2/77-80); and *Zarādasht Al-Hakim Nabīyyu Qudamā'al-Irāniyyin, Hayātuhu wa Falsafatuhu*: Hāmid 'Abdul-Qādir, book no. 1, Maktabah Nahda, Egypt, 1375. The sum and substances stated there is that originally Zoroastrianism was not paganism. It was a doctrine based on belief in One God, denial of Satan, and faith in Rewards and Punishments. It invited to the virtuous and prohibited vice. (See the 13th chapter *Al-Diyānatuz-Zarādashtiyyah*, pp. 79-110. See also Tabari: *At-Tārikh* (1/540-561).

²³² See Shahrīstānī: *Al-Milal wan-Nihal* (2/77); and *Zarādasht Al-Hakim*, p. 80, 86.

After Zoroaster's death the Magian sect rose up in power.²³³ This sect worshipped fire and considered it a god. Its followers used it in all religious functions symbolizing it as one that stood for the weak. They finally came to be identified as the worshippers of fire. They were also referred to as the Magian monks. Of the rituals that prevailed were idol-worship and holy sacrifices, especially for Mithra god who happened to be the most dominant deity. These had their long historical record that went beyond Zoroaster.

When Alexander the Macedonian invaded Persia at the end of the fourth century before Christ, the Zoroastrians disappeared from view. They appeared again after five centuries. It was after the Sassanid empire had been established that Zoroastrianism reappeared as a Persian heritage. This Zoroastrianism however was far removed from the Zoroastrianism of the pre-Sassanid era. It was merely a convenient tool used by the rulers and the priestly class to oppress the people.²³⁴

In the third century before Christ there appeared a man called Manes (Māni) who laid the foundations of a new religion. It was an admixture of Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Desonian religions.²³⁵ The Zoroastrian priestly class denounced this man because his religion was idol-worship, pure and simple. The new religion claimed that the creator had a dual existence. Or, there were two sources—light and darkness—that were the origins of this world. One symbolized everything good and the other, everything evil. Each had its own sphere of influence. It was these two powers that combined together to create the world and everything that it has.²³⁶ They believed that whoever attempted to adulterate darkness with light committed evil. For example, marriage was an evil. It was better

²³³ Although both commonly treated as one, 'Abdul-Qādir treats them different, see pp. 115-118.

²³⁴ See Arthur Kristensen: *Iran fi 'Ahdīs-Sāsāniyyin*, translated by Yahya Khashshāb, pp. 19-29; and Dr. Ahmad Shalabi: *Al-Islam Silsilah Muqārana-tul-Adyān*, no. 3, p. 41-42.

²³⁵ It is attributed to Ibn Disan who laid its foundations.

²³⁶ See Shahrīstānī: *Al-Milal wan-Nihal* (2/81-84). Also see *Zarādasht Al-Hakim*, p. 125-126, and *Al-Ghulu wal-Firaqul-Ghāliyyah fil-Hadāratil-Islāmiyyah* by

to remain single and cut off the human race of the sources of new supply, to destroy the race, so that only light prevailed in the end.

In the year 276 CE, the Persian king Bahrām bin Hurmuz killed Māni saying, "This man sought the destruction of the world, and so deserves to be destroyed himself."

Yet, despite this sacrifice, Manicheans remained a strong underground force. It remained so until the advent of Islam.

Then appeared Mazdaists (Mazdakists) in the fifth century who gave a new life to Manicheans and who taught that women and wealth were public property.

A Persian king called Qabbāz adopted Mazdak's ideas and tried to apply them to the Persian society during the first ten years of his rule. However, when he realized the fallacy, he beheaded Mazdaks in the year 529 CE, and persecuted his followers. They went into hiding during the Sassanian period to reappear just before Islam's advent.

Another religion that appeared in Iran was Mercurism (Marquniyyah), named on its founder Mercureus. They also believed in a dualism in which light was the creator of good and darkness the creator of evil.²³⁷ They accepted the influences of Zoroastrianism as well as Christianity.

Desonia (Disāniyyah) was yet another religion to appear in Persia. This too was the religion of dualism. Upon the ideas of the Mercurians, it added a third reality which was the dividing line between light and darkness, although it could not explain this third reality satisfactorily. Ibn Disān is said to be the first person who presented the idea of God's incarnation, claiming that God's light had dissolved into his heart.²³⁸

Dr. 'Abdullah Sallum Sāmarrā'i, Master's thesis, *Dar Al-Hurriyyah li-Tiba'ah*, Baghdad, 1392, p. 24.

²³⁷ See Shahrīstānī: *Al-Milal wan-Nihal* (2/81-86); *Zarādasht Al-Hakim*, p. 130-132; Dr. Ahmad Shalabi: *Al-Islam*, p. 42-43; Kristensen: *Iran fi 'Ahdīs-Sāsāniyyin*, pp. 169-195; and *Al-Ghulu wal-Firaqul-Ghāliyatū fil-Hadāratil-Islāmiyyati*, p. 22-26.

²³⁸ Shahrīstānī: *Al-Milal wan-Nihal* (2/88-89); *Al-Ghulu wal-Firaqul-Ghāliyatū fil-Hadāratil-Islāmiyyati*, pp. 22-32.

Socio-Political Life

The religious systems set up by the pre-Zoroastrian pagan religions spread a lot of corruption in the Persian land. The countryside people in particular suffered a great deal of oppression ranging from loss of wealth to life.²³⁹

Zoroastrianism tried to improve the situation. But once Manichean and Mazdaist religions stepped in, the situation worsened.

Under the Magian religion, which was an offshoot of Zoroastrianism, as under Manicheanism and Mazdaism, and a few other minor religions, moral anarchy set in among the Persians. It was accompanied by internal violence as well as external wars. During those ongoing wars, whenever the Roman Christians were defeated, the worshippers of Fire looted their wealth and enslaved a large number of them. In turn, when the Persians were defeated, they suffered the same fate.²⁴⁰

The Persian Magians neither worshipped one God nor possessed any moral values. They freely slit the throats of the breakaway groups, whenever they got the better of them.

One of the widely prevalent practices among the Zoroastrian societies was incest. They used to say, "The son is nearest to be able to satisfy the desires of his mother. Therefore, if a man dies, his son has the first right to the widow."²⁴¹ Yezdgird the Second, who ruled during the middle of the fifth Christian century, married his own daughter. But later he killed her. Similarly, Bahram bin Jubian, a sixth century ruler, married his own sister.²⁴²

The Mazdeans mission granted to the young, the rich and everyone else a free reign in expressing their base desires, which

²³⁹ See *Zarādasht Al-Hakim*, p. 23.

²⁴⁰ See Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (6/305 and what follows) explaining Verses 1-7 of *Surat Ar-Rum*; *Zarādasht Al-Hakim*, p. 138.

²⁴¹ *Al-Ghulu wal-Firaqul-Ghāliyatū fil-Hadāratil-Islāmiyyati*, p. 21.

²⁴² See Tabari: *At-Tārikh* (1/178); *Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātil-Muslimin*, p. 47; Kristensen: *Iran fi 'Ahdīs-Sāsāniyyin*, pp. 309-311.

was the cause of their gradual destruction. Furthermore the evil influences of the ruling families worsened the situation. Iran sank in moral depravity.²⁴³

The Persians looked at the saintly families, as well as the nobles of the society, as rationalists *par excellence*. They believed they were above the common lot and enjoyed natural superiority over everyone else in intellectual capacities. They accorded them unlimited powers and submitted to them completely.²⁴⁴

The Persian masses were divided into classes, and each class had a given role to play in society.

Further, the Persians exaggerated the achievements of their nation and thought that they were above the rest of the peoples of the world and that God had bestowed them with special qualities, according to them a special rank above the rest. This led them to look down upon other nations as inferiors and referring to them by nicknames that speak of their derogatory attitude towards them.²⁴⁵

Since Fire could not send them down revelations containing any law, or send any kind of messengers, or interfere in their daily lives, or punish the defaulters, the Magian religion became no more than a set of rituals. They practiced rituals that had to be performed at specific hours at specific places. But, outside the places of worship, i.e., in the streets, in their everyday lives, in economy or politics, it had no function whatsoever. They were free to live their lives the way they thought fit, just in the manner of the pagans of all times.²⁴⁶

The Persians were thus denied, under the Magians, a sound comprehensive religion: one that could lead them to a decent and

²⁴³ See Shahrīstānī *Al-Milāl wan-Nihal* (2/86); *Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātil-Muslimin*, p. 47; Dr. Ahmad Shalabi: *Al-Islam*, p. 42; Kristensen: *Iran fi 'Ahdīs-Sāsāniyyin*, pp. 348-350.

²⁴⁴ *Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātil-Muslimin*, pp. 50-51; Kristensen: *Iran fi 'Ahdīs-Sāsāniyyin*, pp. 302-307.

²⁴⁵ See Tabari: *At-Tārikh* (3/520, 522, 523); *Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātil-Muslimin*, p. 52.

²⁴⁶ See Shahrīstānī *Al-Milāl wan-Nihal* (2/92-93); *Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātil-Muslimin*, pp. 52-53.

virtuous life or offer a complete system of life that guided in every affair of life both at the social, as well as at the political level. They missed a religion that could act as a barrier between oppression and the oppressors.²⁴⁷ This is something the Persians experienced only under Islamic rule.

Further, they were denied good rulers. In fact, they were ruled by people who were themselves the source of many corrupt practices. Sometimes the rulers became deities when they found that the people had not one God to worship and obey. They struggled amongst themselves for power to the extent that once six rulers changed places on the throne within the span of one month. The throne lost its dignity. Wealth and property of the land became the ownership of anyone who occupied the throne. It helped him lead a luxuriant life filled with vulgarities of all sorts. For example, when the last emperor Yezdgird fled from the Islamic armies, he had with him a thousand cooks, a thousand singers, a thousand caretakers for the tigers, a thousand caretakers for the flacons and other retinue. Yet he considered himself a refugee in troubled times and thought that his lack of proper retinue and means of luxury was lamentable.²⁴⁸ At the same time the common people led a life of poverty and misery overburdened by taxes and war costs.²⁴⁹

The Chinese

Religious Life

In the sixth century after Christ, the Chinese largely followed one of the three religions: The Lao-tzu religion,²⁵⁰ Confucianism and Buddhism. The first of these was paganism pure and simple. It was

²⁴⁷ *Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātil-Muslimin*, p. 53.

²⁴⁸ Nadawi, *Siratun-Nabawiyyah*, p. 14; Kristensen: *Iran fi 'Ahdīs-Sāsāniyyin*.

²⁴⁹ See Tabari: *At-Tārikh* (2/150); Kristensen: *Iran fi 'Ahdīs-Sāsāniyyin*, p. 196 and following pages.

²⁵⁰ Some refer to it as Lao-tse while others as Lauts. See Shalabi: *Al-Islam*, p. 43. Lao-tzu is older than Confucius by about fifty years.

an ideology rather than a practical religion. Its adherents led an ascetic life. Not surprisingly, most of its followers gradually gave up the religion.

Confucianism, on the other hand, was more practical than theoretical. However, its teachings were confined to the worldly affairs alone. Its followers, at least in certain eras, did not think that a particular god was to be worshipped. They worshipped whatever they liked: trees, rivers, etc.²⁵¹ They built temples for Confucius, offered sacrifices at his altar and prostrated themselves before it.

A little before Islam, the worship of spirits of the ancestors became prevalent. They believed that the spirits of their ancestors abided with them.

The Chinese version of Buddhism lost its originality altogether after the Brahmans turned it into a religion of idol-worship. Temples were built for Buddha's statues that the common folk worshipped. These idols dominated the entire religious and social life during the golden Buddhist era. Sorcery and superstition also penetrated deep in the lives of the Buddhists. After remaining a force for a thousand years, Buddhism began to decline.²⁵²

Social Life

Confucianism did not possess the light of faith that could give spiritual satisfaction, nor a revealed Law to solve the day-to-day problems of life. It was a package of wise sayings and experiences of past devotees that a man could profit from if he wished or reject if he wished. This lack of guidance resulted in the glorification of the male, as was the case among the pre-Islamic Arabs. When they had a male child they hung bows and arrows at the entrance to their house as a sign of the arrival of a male protector of the family. If it was a female, they hung a

²⁵¹ See Nadawi: *Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātil-Muslimin*, p. 53.

²⁵² *Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātil-Muslimin*, pp. 52-55; Shalabi: *Al-Islam*, p. 41.

spinning spindle, a sign of weakness.

During the times of the Chinese version of Buddhism, the governments took charge of performing the rituals and worship of the idols. The society lost the brotherhood of Buddhist concept, and innovations of various sorts appeared. Confucianism could not prevent, nor was it opposed to, the appearance of castes and classes. But, admittedly, the system was less restrictive, and less overburdening than the Indian Brahminism which dominated the Indian scene.²⁵³

The Indians

Religious Life

It was Brahminism that dominated the Indian subcontinent. It granted divinity to every supernatural power. People made idols and believed that some of those deities resided in them. Thus they ended up worshiping the idols. And the idols increased in numbers. At the intellectual level, their religious philosophy evolved into that of three gods: Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu.

After Brahminism, Buddhism prospered. This religion did not endeavor to solve the metaphysical riddles. It tried to reform the human society. This it did by dictating abstinence in order to kill carnal desires.²⁵⁴

Nevertheless, with the passage of time Buddha's teachings were overtaken by philosophical thoughts, until it became a package of metaphysical ideas beyond comprehension. Thus, Buddhism suf-

²⁵³ Shalabi: *Al-Islam*, pp. 44-45; *Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātil-Muslimin*, p. 54-55. Nadawi's source is an old Urdu book by Eshu Atuba. For the philosophy of Confucius see: *Confucius* by Dr. Hasan Shahātah Sa'fan, *Silsilatū Qādatil-Fikr fish-Sharqiwal-Gharb*, no. 2, pp. 76-83.

²⁵⁴ See Abu Zuhrah, *Ad-Diyānātul-Qadimah*, pp. 23-28, 77-78. For the Buddhist religion refer to the same work, p. 53 and those that follow: Nadawi: *As-Siratun-Nabawiyyah*, p. 6; Nadawi: *Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātil-Muslimin*, pp. 54-55.

ferred the same fate as Brahminism. In time it became difficult to distinguish between the two. In fact, it would be right to say that Brahminism devoured Buddhism.

In the upshot, idol-worship became the religion of the Indians. There were all kinds and classes of them. Some idols were historical figures, others heroes in whom gods resided. There were mountains on which they thought gods squatted. There was gold and silver through which also gods were believed to have manifested themselves. River Ganges was another deity. Weapons of war, reproductive organs, some animals, such as the cow, plants and stars, became deities.

Social Life

Historians agree that the worst of periods in human history from the point of view of social, religious and moral degeneration begins with the beginning of the sixth century after Christ. On the Indian scene, various corruptions found their way into places of worship. Some men worshipped naked women while women worshipped naked men. Women became a commodity of no value. A man would lose his mother in gambling. A woman was not to remarry after the death of her husband. Some orphans were burned to death at the death of their mothers. This was in practice in the upper castes and women were reduced to slavery.

The religious philosophy divided the people into four castes: (i) Brahmans: the priestly class, (ii) Kshatriyas: the soldier class, (iii) Vaisyas: the trader and farmer class and (iv) Sudras: the lower class that serves the upper three castes.

The last mentioned class was considered unclean. Its members were not to intermingle with others, and were kept apart to the extent that they were not to know the holy literature.²⁵⁵ The penalty for killing a dog, a cat, a frog, a raven or an owl was the same as

²⁵⁵ *Nadawi: Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātil-Muslimin*, pp. 54-55, 58-61. His source is *Manu Shastar*, that is Laws of Manu, who happens to be the author. *Siratun-Nabawiyah* p. 15; *Ad-Diyānātul-Qadimah*, pp. 45-46.

killing a Sudra. The Brahmans occupied the topmost position and were above the law. Destruction of other people's life and property was lawful to them.²⁵⁶

Obviously, the widely prevalent degeneration, whether it be among Arabs or non-Arabs, demanded that a new Messenger be raised. Allāh sent Muhammad ﷺ to the whole of the mankind, Arabs as well as non-Arabs, to rescue them from the oppression of life and societies and bring them out of darknesses into light.

²⁵⁶ See the details of the chains in which the people were bound in *Nadawi's Ma Dha Khasiral-'Ālamu bi Inhitātil-Muslimin*. For the special privileges enjoyed by the Brahman class, see the same source, pp. 58-60, whose source is *Manu Shastar*.

THE PROPHET OF ISLAM

From Birth to Emigration

The Prophet's Lineage

The Prophet's lineage runs as follows: Muhammad bin 'Abdullah bin 'Abdul-Muttalib bin Hāshim bin 'Abd Manāf bin Qusaib bin Kilāb bin Murrah bin Ka'b bin Lu'ay bin Ghālib bin Fihr bin Mālik bin Nadr bin Kinānah bin Khuzaymah bin Mudrikah bin Ilyās bin Mudar bin Nizār bin Ma'd bin 'Adnān.

Imam Bukhāri confirms in his *Sahih*¹ the reliability of the lineage to this extent, and it has the consensus of the scholars in its favour.² But thereafter there are wide speculations,³ that is, from 'Adnān upwards. Nothing reported further than this is reliable, except that it is agreed that 'Adnān is one of the descendants of Ismā'il, the son of Ibrāhim عليه السلام.⁴ On the mother's side he is of the

¹ *Al-Fath* (15/3/The Book of *Mab'ath*).

² See this difference in the originals i.e., *Tārikh Dimashq*, *As-Siratun-Nabawiyyah*, section 1, pp. 36-53; *As-Siratun-Nabawiyyah wa Akhbārul-Khulafa'* by Ibn Hibbān, pp. 40-43; *Tārikhul-Islam* by Dhahabi; and *As-Siratun-Nabawiyyah*, (Ibn Hishām), pp. 17-22.

³ See Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (1/180).

⁴ This can be derived from the Prophet's saying: "Allāh, Glorified is He, has chosen Bani Kinānah from Bani Ismā'il" reported by *Muslim* (4/1782/H. 2276) and others.

Banu Zuhrah.⁵ His mother Āminah was one of the Banu Zuhrah.⁶ The lineage of the two, father and mother, joins up at Banu Kilāb bin Murrah.⁷

Allāh (ﷻ) willed that he should be born among the best of the tribes on earth and of the best of lineage. The Prophet (ﷺ) himself said, "Of the descendants of Ismā'il, Allāh (ﷻ) chose Kinānah. Of the Kinānah, He chose Quraysh. Of the Quraysh He chose Hāshim; and chose me from the descendants of Hāshim."⁸ He also said, "The day Allāh created the creation, He placed me among the best of them. Then, as He divided them, He placed me again among the best of them. Subsequently, as He divided them into tribes, He placed me among the best of tribes. Finally, when He made families, He placed me among the best of families. So, I am the best of them in lineage, and the best of them among the families."⁹

Accordingly, we see that Abu Sufyān found no way but to admit before Heraclius, despite his declared antagonism towards him, that the Prophet (ﷺ) was of the best of families. He said, "He is of the best of lineage amongst us."¹⁰

It was his grandfather 'Abdul-Muttalib who named him Muhammad (meaning "the praised one") preferring it against the commonly used names, hoping that Allāh will praise him in the heavens and so would His creations on earth.¹¹

⁵ See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/2230/The Book of *Manāqib*).

⁶ Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (14/230).

⁷ See *As-Siratun-Nabawiyah* by Ibn Hibbān, p. 44.

⁸ *Muslim* (4/1782/H. 2276).

⁹ See: Bayhaqi, *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (1/168) *Sunan At-Tirmidhi* (5/653/3758), who said that this *Hadith* is Good & Perfect (*Hasan-Sahih*). It is said in *Zawā'id*: "The narrators of its chain are trustworthy." A narration of similar meaning was recorded by Imam Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/166-167), and something close to it is in Abu Nu'aym in his *Ad-Dalā'il* (1/58).

¹⁰ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/70/H. 2941).

¹¹ Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/3)—being a narration by Bayhaqi with a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain as Ibn Hajar noted. See Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (1/161).

Advantages in this Choice

1. The Arabs of the time were in the habit of looking down upon those who were not of noble lineage. Allāh (ﷻ) willed that no enemy of Islam should find a pretext for hindering the people from the way of Allāh. Also, it was so arranged that no one should think that Muhammad (ﷺ) was trying to gain a higher position in the society by claiming to be a Prophet, or that it was devised to be a means for a change in social position.
2. Allāh's choice of the Arabs is one of the evidences that He approves of them and so in their turn the people should also approve of them. But this of course, as a race, and not as individuals. For, as individuals they can deviate from Islam, in which case those individuals might be disapproved of, not all the Arabs.

Circumcision and Naming

Scholars are divided over his circumcision. Some say he was born circumcised. Others say his grandfather circumcised him when he was seven days old, invited people to a meal, and named him Muhammad.¹² But the preferred opinion of some of the earliest

¹² Narrated by Walid bin Muslim on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās (رضي الله عنه) and has been transmitted by Dhahabi in *Tārikhul-Islam*, p. 27. Dhahabi said about Ibn Sa'd's narration, that this is more trustworthy than the one reported by Ibn Sa'd (1/103) and attributed to 'Abbās (رضي الله عنه) to the effect that, "he was born circumcised." The two editors of *Zādul-Ma'ād* (1/82/f.n. 1) said, regarding Walid bin Muslim's statement that "This is not *Sahih*, because Abu Hātim described Muhammad bin Abu Sariy as weak in *Hadith*. And Ibn 'Adi described him as a (narrator) of too many errors. Further, Walid bin Muslim is one of those who dropped the immediate preceding narrator, while sometimes he narrated without naming the narrators." Ibn Qaiyim mentioned in *Zādul-Ma'ād* (1/82) what Ibn Abdul-Barr considered this *Hadith* of *Musnad* as Unfamiliar (*Gharib*). Yahya bin Ayyub—one of the *Hadith* narrators thought that he searched for this *Hadith* but could not find it with any one of the people of *Hadith* he met except with Ibn Abu Sariy. Ibn Qaiyim then added: "This problem took place between two pious men, one of them was Kamāluddīn bin Talhah, who wrote a book in which he mentioned that the Prophet (ﷺ) was born circumcised and supported it with

scholars is that he was born circumcised.¹³

When 'Abdul-Muttalib was asked why he didn't use one of the names commonly used by his family, he replied that he wished that Muhammad be praised by Allāh in the heavens and by the people on earth.¹⁴

The Prophet ﷺ was known by other names too. He said, "I have several names. I am Muhammad. I am *Ahmad*. I am *Al-Māhi* (the Obliterator) who will obliterate disbelief, I am *Al-Hāshir* (the Gatherer) after whom Allāh will gather the people for reckoning. And I am *Al-Āqib*." The narrator added, "Āqib is someone after whom no Prophet will appear."¹⁵ Ibn Sa'd¹⁶ added another name: *Al-Khātim* (the seal of the Prophets). Imam Muslim¹⁷ has added two more names: *Al-Muqaffa* (meaning the Last One) and *Nabiyyur-Rahmah* (the Prophet of Mercy). Tirmidhi¹⁸ in his turn added one more: *Nabiyyul-Malāhim*¹⁹ (the Prophet after whom a big battle will take place — *Translator*).

as many *Ahādith* as possible with no basis whatsoever. This was contradicted by Kamāluddīn bin 'Adīm, where he explained that the Prophet ﷺ was circumcised according to the Arab tradition; and that this practice was well-known for evidences to be established. Allāh knows best."

¹³ Abu Nu'aym in his *Dalā'il* narrated that the Prophet ﷺ said, "One of the miracles bestowed upon me by Allāh was that I was born circumcised and no one saw my private parts." The two verifiers said, "This *Hadith* was also reported by Tabarānī in his *Al-Awsat*. Hākim said in *Al-Mustadrak* (2/602): "Numerous *Ahādith* speak of the Prophet ﷺ being born circumcised." See *As-Sirātun-Nabawīyyah* by Ibn Hibbān, p. 58, and *As-Siratush-Shāmiyyah* (1/420-421). Shaykh Tarhuni has also lent strength to the view. See *Sahihus-Siratin-Nabawīyyah*, f.n. 141, reports on the grandfather performing the circumcision. See Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidāyah* (2/287-288).

¹⁴ Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/3). Reported by Bayhaqi with a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain as Ibn Hajar said.

¹⁵ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (18/280/H. 4896), *Muslim* (4/1828/H. 2354) and others besides the two.

¹⁶ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/104) with a Strong & Good (*Qawi-Hasan*) chain as mentioned by Dhahabi in his *Sirat*, p. 30.

¹⁷ *Sahih Muslim* (4/1828/H. 2355).

¹⁸ *Ash-Shamā'il* (360) with a Good (*Hasan*) chain of narration as said the verifier of the *Tārīkhul-Islam* by Dhahabi. See the *Sirat*, page 31 and f.n. (5).

¹⁹ And what is reported of the Prophet's names some of which we mentioned

Some reports say that his mother named him Ahmad. Ibn Sa'd carries a report through 'Ali to this effect. Since his father passed away while he was in his mother's womb, it was natural that his mother bore the responsibility of naming him. This is reported by Ibn Sa'd²⁰ who depends on Wāqidi through Ibn 'Ali who said, "Āminah was inspired to name him Ahmad even while he was in the womb." A report in Abu Nu'aym²¹ (*Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah*) coming through Buraydah and Ibn 'Abbās also supports this. They said, "Āminah saw a dream. She was told, 'You have conceived the best of mankind, and a leader of the people. When you give birth to him, name him Ahmad and Muhammad.'" Ibn Ishāq²² has a similar report as does Bayhaqi.²³ It says, "Āminah used to say that when she had conceived him she was told in a dream, 'When he is born, name him Muhammad, for his name is Ahmad in the Torah and the Gospels. He will be praised by those in the heavens and those on the earth. In the Qur'ān his name will be Muhammad.'" So she gave him that name. The report ends with a note that she had asked 'Abdul-Muttalib to name him Muhammad. 'Abdul-Muttalib said a poetical piece in response. Its last line said, "Ahmad is written on the tongues." Ibn 'Asākir²⁴ too has a similar narrative.

Later, he acquired the surname Abul-Qāsim,²⁵ ordering his followers not to use his surname,²⁶ although they could use his name for naming their children. Jibril ﷺ had surnamed him Abu Ibrāhīm, but he himself disapproved that he should be known by a

while others we did not. Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (1/151-161) and *As-Siratush-Shāmiyyah* (1/512-663). Shāmi counted it in alphabetic order.

²⁰ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/104).

²¹ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (1/36-37)

²² Ibn Hishām (1/210) in words close to the words of Abu Nu'aym, without attribution, so it is weak.

²³ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (1/111-112).

²⁴ *Tārīkh Dimashq*—The *Sirah* section (1/404).

²⁵ See *Muslim* (3/1682/H. 2133), *Ahmad: Musnad* (2/433 and 3/301), *Ibn Sa'd* (1/107).

²⁶ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (22/382-384/H. 6187-6190), *Muslim* (3/1684/H. 2134). As regards other narrations in connection with a few more surnames see Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (1/162-164).

surname other than by which the people already knew him.²⁷ There have been differences in opinion over the use of his surname—whether the forbiddance was until his death, or remains forever. Some have said that his name and surname may not be adopted together by an individual.²⁸

Although there were a few people in pre-Islamic times named Muhammad, from the expectation that a Messenger was about to arise, there was no one named Ahmad before him.²⁹

Orphanhood and Guardians

Historians disagree over the date of his father's death. Ibn Ishāq,³⁰ seconded by Ibn Sa'd,³¹ said that he died while the Prophet ﷺ was in his mother's womb. Most scholars,³² such as Dhahabi³³ and Ibn Kathir³⁴ (*Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah*), believe in this. This seems to be the implication of the Verse:

﴿أَلَمْ يَجِدْكَ يَتِيمًا فَآوَىٰ﴾

"And He found you an orphan and provided you shelter."³⁵

²⁷ Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārikh Dimashq*—The *Sirah* section, pp. 27-36 with a Good (*Hasan*) attribution. See the *Hadith* in *Al-Isābah* (3/335-36).

²⁸ Details of this are found in Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārikh Dimashq*—The *Sirah* section, pp. 26-34; and Ibn Jawzi: *Al-Wafa' bi Ahwālil-Mustafa*, pp. 102-103.

²⁹ See *As-Siratush-Shāmiyyah* (1/503) and what follows. And, of those who were named Muhammad (the following could be noted): Muhammad bin 'Ahayhah, Muhammad bin Usāmah, Muhammad bin Al-Barr, Muhammad bin Hārith bin Hudayj, Muhammad bin Hirmāz, Muhammad bin Humrān, Muhammad bin Khuzā'i, Muhammad bin Khawli, Muhammad bin Maslamah, Muhammad bin Sufyān bin Mujāshi' the grand grandfather of Farazdaq, Muhammad bin 'Adi, etc. Their number is above twenty.

³⁰ *Ibn Hishām* (1/210) without chains (*Isnād*), so it is Weak (*Da'if*).

³¹ *At-Tabaqātul-Kubra* (1/99-100) with a weak attribution.

³² See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/285-286) where he mentioned the different narrations. Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (1/187-188).

³³ *Tārikhul-Islam*—The *Sirah*, p. 50.

³⁴ *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/285-286).

³⁵ *Surat Ad-Duha*: 6.

It is also popularly believed that he was born an orphan in Makkah on Monday, the 12th of Rabi'ul-Awwal,³⁶ in the year known as the Year of the Elephant.³⁷ The Orientalists believe that it coincided with the year 570 AC. But the astronomer Mahmud Pasha's calculations show it as the 9th of Rabi'ul-Awwal, coinciding with 20th of Nisan, 571 AC.³⁸

Since his father was dead, his grandfather became his custodian, although he remained with his mother Āminah bint Wahb.³⁹ His father had died in Yathrib while he was a guest with his maternal uncles. 'Abdul-Muttalib, his father, had sent him to purchase dates from them.⁴⁰ He was buried in the quarters of An-Nābighah, under the threshold of the second house on the left hand side as one entered the quarters. He was twenty-five when he died.⁴¹

The Prophet ﷺ remained with his mother and under the guardianship of his grandfather after his return from Banu Sa'd. When he was six, his mother also died in a place called Abwa'.⁴² She

³⁶ Ibn Ishāq without attribution—*Ibn Hishām* (1/211) thus it is Weak (*Da'if*).

³⁷ See Nawawi: *As-Sirat*, p. 15. Dhahabi reported attributing it to Ibn 'Abbās that the Prophet ﷺ was born on the Day of the Elephant and regarding its attribution, he said that it is Sound (*Sahih*) See *Tārikhul-Islam*—The *Sirat*, pp. 22. And Ibn Ishāq reported with a good attribution that the Prophet ﷺ was born in The Year of the Elephant. See *Ibn Hishām* (1/211).

³⁸ Khudari Bek: *Muhādarāt Tārikhil-Umamil-Islamiyah* (1/62).

³⁹ His grandfather's guardianship of him is confirmed through different lines of narration, some of which strengthen others to reach the status of *Hasan li Ghayrihi*. See the following footnotes in this connection: nos. 141, 132, 167, 161 of the book: *Sahihul-Sirat* by Tarhuni. Also see: Ibn Ishāq without attribution—*Ibn Hishām* (1/212).

⁴⁰ This was said by Ibn Abdul-Barr in *Al-Isti'āb* (1/14) narrated in Disconnected (*Mursal*) form by Zuhri. It was said that in fact he sent him to Shām for merchandise and he returned sick from Gaza and died at Madinah. See *Ibn Sa'd* (1/99) from a narration from his Shaykh Wāqidi.

⁴¹ See *Ibn Sa'd* (1/99) and 'Umar bin Shabbah: *Tārikhul-Madinah* (1/116-117) and *Umdatul-Akhbār*, p. 167. The writer of *Wafa'ul-Wafa'* (3/867) that the quarters of Nābighah were in the north of the Prophet's Mosque at Bani Jadilah. See *Ibn Sa'd*: *At-Tabaqāt* (1/116) through a *Da'if* chain because its chain of narrators includes 'Abdul-'Aziz bin 'Imrān who was Abandoned (*Matruk*) in the *Hadith*.

⁴² A village that lies 23 miles away from Juhfah in the direction of Madinah,

was returning to Makkah after she had gone to Yathrib⁴³ for a visit to the Prophet's maternal uncles, the Banu 'Adi bin Najjār.⁴⁴

His freed slave-girl and nurse Umm Ayman brought him to his grandfather at Makkah. The latter took great care of him until his death. The Prophet ﷺ was eight year old then.⁴⁵ Before his death he ordered that Muhammad be handed over to his uncle Abu Tālib, i.e.,⁴⁶ the real brother of the Prophet's father. Their mother, that is, 'Abdul-Muttalib's wife, was Fātimah bint 'Amr bin 'A'idh.⁴⁷

Several reports have come to us about the great care 'Abdul-Muttalib bestowed on his grandson. It is reported by Abu Ya'la⁴⁸

Mu'jamul-Buldān (1/79). And it was said that it is one of the the Tihāmah valleys of Hijāz where the two valleys of Al-Fara' and Al-Qāhah meet, so they join together to make one stream and pour into the sea passing by Masturah village. See Ā'iq Al-Bilādi: *Mu'jamul-Ma'ālimil-Jughrāfiyah fis-Sirah*.

⁴³ Because Hāshim bin 'Abd Munāf married Salma bint 'Amr Najjāriyyah in Madinah and gave birth to Abdul-Muttalib (Shaybah). See Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (1/223) and *Dalā'il* of Bayhaqi (1/188).

⁴⁴ *Ibn Sa'd* (1/116) through Wāqidi. Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) line of narration—*Ibn Hishām* (1/222-223), 'Abdur-Razzāq: *Al-Musannaf* (5/318) through a *Mursal* report. And *Mursal* of Ibn Ishāq and *Mursal* of 'Abdur-Razzāq are *Sahih* reports. The two reports are supported by the narration of Ibn Sa'd. As regard to the news of his mother's death at Abwa' while he was still very young, it came through different ways that reach the level of *Hasan li Ghairihi*. See the details of this in *Sahihus-Sirat* by Shaykh Tarhuni, f.n. numbers 165 and 166.

⁴⁵ See: Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/223) and *Tārikh Makkah* by Azruqi (1/314, 315) with a Good (*Hasan*) chain; Dhahabi: *As-Sirat*, p. 25, with a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) attribution. However the story has some evidences, one of them being what Bayhaqi reported in his *Dalā'il* with a Sound (*Sahih*) attribution (2/22) and 'Abdur-Razzāq through a *Sahih* but Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain (5/318) and *Ibn Sa'd* (1/117-118) from Wāqidi.

⁴⁶ *Ibn Hishām*, without an attribution (1/235), *Ibn Sa'd* (1/118) through Wāqidi; Dhahabi: *As-Sirat*, p. 50. And what demonstrates a basis for this story is what is mentioned in the story of the Prophet ﷺ meeting with the monk Bahira during his journey to Shām while he was young. The details of this will come later. This narrative is Sound (*Sahih*) as you will shortly know.

⁴⁷ Ibn Ishāq without an attribution—*Ibn Hishām* (1/235), and so is Weak (*Da'if*).

⁴⁸ Haythami: *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (8/244). Haythami declared its chain as Good (*Hasan*). Hākim, who declared it Sound (*Sahih*) in his *Al-Mustadrak* (2/603-

that once he sent the child to look for a camel that was lost. When the Prophet ﷺ took a long time to return, he got extremely worried, to the extent that when he appeared with the camel, he promised himself that he will never send him on any errand anytime and will never let him out of sight.

He kept the Prophet ﷺ close to him and would not allow anyone to visit him when he was asleep. He had appointed for him a place next to himself and no one was allowed to occupy that place. When he took his appointed place in the shadow of the Ka'bah, with his children around him, Muhammad sat beside him.⁴⁹

History books tell us that Abu Tālib also took extreme care of him. He wouldn't let him sleep but next to himself, wouldn't go anywhere without taking him along, and offer him the best part of the food. In fact, he wouldn't eat until the Prophet ﷺ had joined him.⁵⁰ He maintained these habits until he died some three years before the Prophet's emigration to Yathrib.

Wisdom in the Orphanhood

It was Allāh's Will that the Prophet ﷺ should grow up an orphan, uninfluenced by his parents. His father died before his birth and the mother did not influence him much because most of his childhood was spent in the deserts in the family of Banu Sa'd. There too he didn't live long and was returned to the care of his grandfather. This took care of any possible future allegation that the Prophet ﷺ was groomed by his parents and others for his mission

604). Dhahabi agreed with him., Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il* (2/20-21) through two lines of narration, one of which is in *Al-Hākim*.

⁴⁹ Azruqi: *Tārikh Makkah* (1/314-315) through a Good (*Hasan*) chain, and the story has other supporting narratives which we mentioned in footnote no. 46 above. Also in Ibn Ishāq without a chain of narration—*Ibn Hishām* (1/223).

⁵⁰ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/119-120), through Wāqidi and Wāqidi is Abandoned (*Matruk*) therefore the chain is very weak. However what strengthens the fact that Wāqidi's narration has a basis are the Sound (*Sahih*) reports concerning the Prophet's meeting with the monk Bahira while the Prophet ﷺ was traveling to Shām in his youth, as will come later in this book.

right from his childhood. Or that they taught him to seek glory by false means. It is another thing that he need not have to resort to such false means because his grandfather was a highly respectable man of the tribe. He held the honourable post of feeding and watering the pilgrims.⁵¹

Perhaps too, there is a lesson in his orphanhood for orphans of all times: it is not a stigma to be an orphan, and it does not come in the way of a person attaining high status.

Signs of Prophethood at Birth

Some signs of prophethood accompanied him at birth. One of the proven ones coming through trustworthy reports is in the Prophet's own words. He said, "I am the answer to the prayer of Ibrāhīm and the 'one' promised by 'Isa. When my mother was pregnant with me she saw that a light emerged from her womb which illuminated the palaces of Busra in the Syrian region."⁵²

Although the following is not confirmed through trustworthy reports, it is commonly said that when he was born, fourteen balconies broke down in Kisra's palace, the Fire the Magians worshiped extinguished, the sea roared up with high waves against Sāwah and the temples around it crumbled down.⁵³

⁵¹ See Dr. Muhammad Sa'eed Ramadān Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 50-51.

⁵² Recorded by Ahmad in *Al-Musnad* (4/127 and 5/262) narrated by Irbād bin Sāriyah, Abu Umamah, Abu Nadr and Faraj. Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (8/212): "The attribution of Ahmad is Good (*Hasan*). That report says, "I saw a light emanate from me that lightened the palaces of Shām." Hākim also reported in his *Al-Mustadrak* (2/616-617), in similar words as in *Musnad* of Ahmad. He said, "This is a Sound (*Sahih*) report that meets with the conditions laid by Muslim. Dhahabi agreed with him. Ibn Ishāq also reported with a *Hasan* chain as in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/219-220). Thus, the unknowability of a Companion does not adversely affect the narration. Hence Ibn Kathir said in his book *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* that this attribution is Perfect & Strong (*Jaiyid-Qawi*).

⁵³ This has been reported through a lengthy narration in reference to Satih and his nephew Abdul-Masih. See *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* of Bayhaqi (1/126-129). The verifier of the work Dr. 'Abdul-Mu'ti Qal'ahji said about it:

Infancy

It is commonly reported by the biographers and historians that it was Halimah bint Dhu'ayb Sa'diyah who breast-fed him when she took him to her relatives in the deserts. He remained with her until he was about four. Then she brought him back to his mother.

But Ibn Ishāq⁵⁴ is alone in narrating this story, which happens to be through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain of narrators. One of its narrators is 'Abdullah bin Ja'far who never met Halimah. Another narrator is Jahm bin Jahm, about whom Dhahabi⁵⁵ said that his identity could not be traced. Nonetheless, Abu Ya'la⁵⁶ as well as Ibn Hibbān⁵⁷ (in his *Sahih*) have reported this event. But, as Albāni⁵⁸ has pointed out, the report does not say anything about 'Abdullah having met Halimah. Ibn Hajar⁵⁹ seems to have erred when he said that 'Abdullah met and spoke to Halimah. Tabarāni⁶⁰ has also preserved this report and Haythami⁶¹ gives his approval to both the

"This Hadith is not authentic." Also see the report in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/291-292). And Ibn Kathir said about it, "As for this Hadith, it has no basis in the well-known books of Islam. And I don't see that its chain of narration has any basis either." The two verifiers of *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* of Abu Nu'aym commented (1/139-141) after verifying the story. Ibn 'Asākir said: This Hadith is Unfamiliar (*Gharib*) and we only know it through Makhzum and he through his father. Abu Ayyub Bajali, "Ali was a lonely narrator of this Hadith. Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Isābah*: This Hadith is Disconnected (*Mursal*).

⁵⁴ Ibn Hishām (1/214). Look into the footnotes of the verifiers where they reported this Hadith. Dr. Sulaymān 'Awdah also mentioned it in his doctoral thesis: *The Sirah in the Sahihayn*; and Ibn Ishāq, pp. 118-119.

⁵⁵ *Mizanul-I'tidāl* (1/426).

⁵⁶ See Haythami: *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (8/221), and reports of battle of Hunayn (2/435).

⁵⁷ *Mawāriduz-Zamān*, pp. 512-513.

⁵⁸ (See) the defense of the Prophetic Hadith and the *Sirat* and reply to Buti's ignorance in *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 39.

⁵⁹ *Al-Isābah* (4/274).

⁶⁰ *Al-Mu'jam Al-Kabir* (24/212-215 and 545), Haythami wrote in *Al-Majma'* (9/305): "Its narrators are the narrators of *Sahih* standards, other than 'Umārah bin Zādhān, who is authentic."

⁶¹ See *Al-Majma'* (8/221)

narrations. But the two editors of Ibn Hishām's⁶² *Sirat* as well as Albānī⁶³ have declared this report weak.

Nonetheless, and despite the fact that the report has been declared weak, it is beyond doubt that the Prophet ﷺ was nursed by Banu Sa'd tribe.⁶⁴ This is because reliable reports say that the incident of the opening of the chest happened when the Prophet ﷺ was with Banu Sa'd. Hākim,⁶⁵ Ahmad⁶⁶ and Ibn Ishāq⁶⁷ have all reported the words, "I am the answer to Ibrāhīm's prayer ... and I was nursed by Banu Sa'd bin Bakr..." Ibn Ishāq⁶⁸ has also reported through satisfactory sources that the Hawāzin delegation told the Prophet ﷺ (when he was in Jī'rānah, returning from Hunayn), "Among the slaves (that you have taken at Hawāzin) are your own aunts and those who took care of you (in your childhood)." This report conforms the nursing of the Prophet ﷺ by the tribal people around Tā'if, i.e., Hawāzin. Banu Sa'd were one of them and Halimah bint Abu Dhu'ayb⁶⁹ belonged to them.

Ibn Sa'd⁷⁰ has another report that originates with Ibn Qibtiyyah

⁶² Ibn Hishām (1/214) footnote.

⁶³ Difa' 'Anil-Hadithin-Nabawi-was-Sirah, p. 38 and the following pages.

⁶⁴ Muslim (1/147/H. 261).

⁶⁵ Al-Mustadrak (2/600) where it is declared Sound (*Sahih*), and Dhahabi approved it.

⁶⁶ Al-Musnad (4/127-128) through sources other than Ibn Ishāq. Haythami in his *Majma'* (8/222) said: "It is graded as Good (*Hasan*) and has other reports in support that strengthen it." Of these parallel reports, one is reported by Tayālisi in his *Musnad*, as also in *Minhatul-Ma'bud* (2/86) and Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir*. However, their reports have one called Ibn Fadālah in the chain and he was considered weak.

⁶⁷ Ibn Hishām (1/219-220) through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain. The inability to identify a Companion has no effect. That is why Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/299): "This is a Perfect & Strong (*Jaiyid-Qawi*) attribution."

⁶⁸ See *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (4/183-185).

⁶⁹ See her lineage in *As-Siratun-Nabawiyyah* by Ibn Hibbān, p. 53-54 without any chain. Also see *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/213), without any chain of narration.

⁷⁰ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/113) with a weak chain. Probably it is a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report. However, its narrators are trustworthy.

which asserts that the Prophet ﷺ was nursed by the Banu Sa'd. Yet another report from Ibn Sa'd⁷¹ says that it was the Prophet's mother who had handed him over to Banu Sa'd.

Ibn Kathir⁷² mentions Abu Nu'aym's report through 'Utbah bin 'Abdullah that a man asked the Prophet ﷺ, "What were you like in the beginning, O Messenger of Allāh?" He replied, "I was nursed by Banu Sa'd bin Bakr."

One might add to the above reports, the incident of his foster parents visiting him (while he was still with his mother in Makkah: before fosterage – *Translator*), and his recognition of his foster sister Shima', when she was brought to him among the prisonors of the battle of Hunayn.⁷³

⁷¹ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/113) with a Weak (*Da'if*) chain and because it includes 'Amr bin 'Āsim Kilābi who was trustworthy but there was some problem with his memory.

⁷² *Al-Bidāyah* (2/299) and at checking out with *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Abu Nu'aym Isfahāni (1/220) we could not find the text of the *Hadith* mentioned by Ibn Kathir. But rather we discovered him saying, "'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Amr narrated it through 'Utbah bin 'Abd. The two of them agreed that he (the Prophet ﷺ) was suckled in the tribe of Banu Sa'd. And the report has already been stated earlier." However, the two verifiers said in the footnote: "This *Hadith* was not mentioned earlier, and it looks as if it is one of those that the the compiler deleted." Further, they said about the *Hadith* of 'Utbah bin 'Abd: "Reported by Ahmad and Tabarāni without mentioning the chain." And Ahmad's chain of narration is of Good (*Hasan*) status. Refer back *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (8/222). Also reported by Dārimi in his *Sunan* (no. 13) and said in *Al-Khasā'is*, "Ahmad, Dārimi and Hākim preserved it while the last mentioned graded it Sound (*Sahih*) (2/616). Also recorded by Bayhaqi, Tabarāni and Abu Nu'aym."

⁷³ Its mention will be made at the proper place in this work under Hunayn. See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (2/301 and after). It is worth mentioning here that the biographers reported that in addition to Halimah another woman from Banu Sa'd nursed him. She nursed him together with his uncle Hamzah at the very time that he was being suckled in Banu Sa'd. See in this regard *Ibn Sa'd* (1/109) through Wāqidi. The total number of women that are reported to have nursed the Prophet ﷺ were ten as mentioned by the editor of Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (1/131). He mentioned their names as well as references from which he gathered the materials. The most famous of those wet-nurses who suckled the Prophet ﷺ besides his mother in Makkah was Thuwaybah,

Good signs began to appear right during the days he spent with Banu Sa'd. The most famous is the one narrated by Halimah herself in which she says that the moment she accepted the child for nursing, her breast was filled with milk, so that both Muhammad as well as her own child were able to suck, although her son had cried incessantly out of hunger because her breast had run dry. Also, the formerly dry udders of the beast they had, were filled with milk once they had Muhammad with them. Everyone of the family drank of the beasts, which in their turn became healthier and stronger. It is also said that whenever Halimah let loose her sheep, they found fresh fodder, which the other animals missed. Muhammad's own growth was faster than those of other children.⁷⁴

Wisdom in being nursed in the Deserts

It was the practice of the Arabs of that time to send their children to the deserts to save them from the evils of city life, make them physically tough, teach them self-reliance, far away from the passionate doting of the mothers, grandmothers and relatives. It also helped in teaching them the language, spoken in its pristine chastity in the deserts.

the freed slave girl of his uncle Abu Lahab who also nursed Abu Salamah along with him. See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (19/171-73/H. 5100 and 5101) and *Muslim* (92/1072/H. 1449). Ibn Sa'd reported through his teacher Wāqidi that Thuwaybah nursed Hamzah before the Prophet ﷺ, *At-Tabaqāt* (1/108-109). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (11/44): "Mus'ab Zubayri narrated that Thuwaybah had suckled the Prophet ﷺ after she had suckled Hamzah. Thereafter she suckled Abu Salamah. She was a freed slave who belonged to Abu Lahab whom he had freed her after which she had breast-fed the Prophet ﷺ. Someone of his family saw Abu Lahab after his death in an awful condition. He was asked the reason and he answered: I found no good after you except that I was given this little water pointing to the hollow of his thumb—for freeing Thuwaybah." See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (19/173/H. 5101) and Ibn Qaiyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (1/82) footnote 2.

⁷⁴ This has been mentioned before, *Ibn Hishām* (1/214-220) where we have said that it is weak. See Albāni: *Difa'*, p. 39, and verification of Dr. Hammām and Abu Su'aylik, *Ibn Hishām* (1/214).

The Opening of the Chest

This incident took place while the Prophet ﷺ was spending his time in the deserts. This is emphatically stated by Abu Nu'aym as also by Ibn Kathir.⁷⁵ The report said, "My nurse was of the Banu Sa'd. One day I went out (into the pasture grounds) with their children herding cattle. We hadn't taken our lunch packets with us. I told my foster brother, 'Brother. Why don't you run back and bring us our lunch packets from our mother?' He returned and I stayed back with the cattle. At that moment two white falcon-like birds descended. One of them asked the other: 'Is he the one?' The other replied, 'Yes.' They hastened towards me, seized me, and laid me down on the ground. Then they opened my chest. They took my heart out and opened it too. They removed two black pieces of flesh. One of them said, 'Let me have the iced water.' They washed the inner part of my breast. Then one of them again said, 'Pass the hail-water.' They washed my heart therewith. Then one of them said, 'Let me have the *Sakinah* (tranquility),' and placed it in my heart. Then one of them told the other, 'Stitch it up.' The other stitched it up and sealed my heart with the seal of 'The Final Prophet.' Then one of them said, 'Place him in one pan against a thousand of his followers in the other pan.' Suddenly I saw a thousand men stacked together on the pan. I feared they would topple down. One of the two said, 'If you weighed his whole nation against him, his pan would still tilt down.' Then they left me. I was extremely disturbed. I went back to my (foster) mother and narrated the whole story. She was afraid I was attacked by the jinn and only said, 'May Allāh safeguard you.' Then she got a camel ready and put me behind her on it until we reached my mother. She told her, 'I have brought back the one you entrusted me with.' She also told her the whole story. My mother was least disturbed. She said, 'When he was in my womb I saw in a dream that a light emerged from my womb that illuminated the Syrian palaces.'"

⁷⁵ *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/299). Dhahabi said in his *Sirat*, p. 48: "It is a Sound (*Sahih*) report."

Muslim⁷⁶ has also mentioned this event of the opening of the chest, though in a shorter form, without mentioning the place where it occurred. His narration reports Anas ؓ as saying, "Jibril came to the Prophet while he was playing with the children. He seized him, laid him down, cut open his chest, removed the heart, threw away a piece of flesh from it saying, 'This was Satan's share of you.' He washed his heart in a golden tray with Zamzam water. Then he stitched it and placed it back in the breast. The children ran up to their mother and told her, 'Muhammad has been murdered.' They hurried to him to find him (standing there) pale." Anas added, "I have seen the stitch marks on his chest."

Some of the sources have said nothing about when this incident took place.⁷⁷ As for those who mentioned it, they don't seem to have agreed on a date. Ibn Ishāq⁷⁸ is one of them. He says the Prophet's age at that time was a little more than two. He reports Halimah's words, "He hadn't achieved the age of two but was already a mature tough boy. So we went back to his mother, although we were anxious to retain him with us ... (we convinced her to allow him to live with us for some more time, and she agreed). So we returned with him. And, by Allāh it was not long after we had returned that this incident (the visit of the angels) took place right behind our tents." On the other hand, Ibn Sa'd⁷⁹ says that the Prophet ﷺ was four years old when the incident took place. This is also the opinion of Abu Nu'aym.⁸⁰ Others have said that he was six⁸¹ or older.⁸²

⁷⁶ A *Sahih* report (1/147/H. 261) see: *Al-Bidāyah* of Ibn Kathir (2/300); *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (1/136) footnote no. (321).

⁷⁷ One of them is Muslim in his narration from Anas (1/147/H. 261). It might be deduced that then he was being fostered.

⁷⁸ *Ibn Hishām* (1/214) and it is Weak (*Da'if*).

⁷⁹ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/112) through his Shaykh Wāqidi. The narration is very weak.

⁸⁰ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (1/159, 161).

⁸¹ See Abu Nu'aym's *Dalā'il* (1/162). It has been attributed to Ibn 'Abbās ؓ but the chain has not been mentioned. It was mentioned that other than Ibn 'Abbās used to say that Halimah returned the child to his mother after the incident when he was four years of age.

⁸² See: *Al-Mawāhibul-Ladunniyah* with Zurqāni's commentary (1/149-150) and *Al-Bidāyah* (2/300-301) where Umawi's narration has been mentioned but

We are inclined to share Zurqāni's⁸³ opinion and of Ibn Sa'd, that he was four at the time of the incident. For, that is the age when a boy is smart enough to look after the cattle and is conscious of what is happening around him.

However, the incident of the opening of the chest happened more than once. Ahmad,⁸⁴ Ibn 'Asākir⁸⁵ and others have reported that it took place once again when he was around ten years old. Nonetheless, Bukhārī,⁸⁶ Muslim,⁸⁷ Ahmad,⁸⁸ Hākim⁸⁹ and Tirmidhi⁹⁰ have reports that it happened when he was fifty, at the time he was taken to Jerusalem in his night journey. Dhahabi⁹¹ believes the opening of the chest happened only twice: once when he was a child and another time before his night journey to Jerusalem, while there are others who maintain that it happened four times.⁹²

The Orientalists and those who follow them from among the Muslims have, however, tried to interpret the incident in other ways. Some have said that it is folk tale pure and simple. Others have said it was only a spiritual experience, and so on.⁹³

The best course is that which was adopted by Ibn Hajar⁹⁴ who said that the narration has come down to us through so many reliable sources that there has to be some substance to it. Further,

is Disconnected (*Mursal*) reaching up to Ibn Musaiyab. It is weak for another reason: the presence of 'Uthmān Waqqāsi who was weak as Ibn Kathir stated. Umawi has stated that his age was six years.

⁸³ His commentary on *Al-Mawāhibul-Ladunniyah* (1/150).

⁸⁴ *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/195). Sā'āti said, "Its narrators are trustworthy."

⁸⁵ *Tārikh Madinati Dimashq*, p. 375. It is also in *Ahmad* with similar narrators.

⁸⁶ *Al-Fath* (13/24/H. 3207).

⁸⁷ (1/147/H. 261 and 262).

⁸⁸ *Al-Musnad* (3/121, 149, 288).

⁸⁹ *Al-Mustadrak* (2/616).

⁹⁰ See: *Sahihut-Tirmidhi* of Albāni (3/631-632/H. 3584).

⁹¹ *As-Siratun-Nabawiyah*, p. 49.

⁹² See: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (2/6) footnotes, and *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/195-196).

⁹³ See Muhammad Abu Shahbah: *As-Siratun-Nabawiyah fi Daw'il-Qur'ān was-Sunnah* (1/199-203). He refuted those who deny the incident of opening the Prophet's chest and harbor doubts over it.

⁹⁴ *Al-Fath* (15/52/H. 3887).

such matters cannot be explained in rational terms, for, these are Allāh's acts. He has power over everything.

Muslims should know that the rejection or acceptance of a report depends on the strength and reliability of the reporters. If their trustworthiness is proved, there is nothing left to discuss about its occurrence, or interpretation, in the light of a distorted reason, as is the habit of the rationalists.

Wisdom in the Opening of the Chest

1. It appears as if this incident was to indicate right in childhood that Muhammad ﷺ was meant to be a Prophet. That would make it easier for the people to accept him as a Messenger when commissioned. It was a spiritual cleansing which was administered by physical and material means to announce Allāh's intention to the people.⁹⁵
2. It was a means of preparing the Prophet ﷺ himself for the future mission.
3. It was an indication that Allāh (ﷻ) was going to save His Messenger ﷺ from the slips, errors and Satan's prompting; they are every man's share.

Journey to Shām

Tirmidhi⁹⁶ has recorded Abu Musa Ash'ari's narration: Abu Tālib started out for Shām with the Messenger ﷺ in his company along with a few other important Quraysh men. When they

⁹⁵ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 52.

⁹⁶ *Sahihut-Tirmidhi* by Albāni (3/191) who graded it as *Sahih* and mentioned the references he wrote and where he mentioned the sources. Then he added: "But in the chain Bilāl is Denounced (*Munkar*) as it has been (normally) mentioned." And *Sunan At-Tirmidhi* (5/250/H. 3624). Tirmidhi said: This *Hadith* is Good & Unfamiliar (*Hasan-Gharib*) that we do not find mentioned but through this chain.

reached the monk—that is, Bahira—they alighted. The monk came out, departing from his practice of never coming out to meet anyone or paying anyone any attention. He came down to them while they were still unpacking. He held the Prophet's hand and said, "This is the most important person for the humans. Allāh has sent him as a measure of mercy unto both the worlds." Someone from the Quraysh chieftains said, "How do you know that?" He said, "As you approached from the rear-hill, every stone and rock went into prostration. They never prostrate themselves but to a Prophet. I also know him from the mark of prophethood he carries a little below his shoulder." Thereafter he went back and prepared some food for them. When he fetched it the Prophet ﷺ was among the servants taking care of the beasts. They sent him to the monk. As he began to approach, the monk said, "Look at him. He has the clouds over his head." When he neared them, he found that those who had come early had already occupied the shade of the tree. But when he sat down, the tree inclined to throw its shadow on him. The monk said, "Look at the tree covering him with its shade." While he was with them he urged them not to take him into the Roman territories. For, if the Romans saw him, they would recognize him, and kill him. Then, as the monk turned to go, he encountered seven soldiers of the Roman army. He faced them and asked, "What brings you here?" They replied, "We have been sent because 'this Prophet' is to appear in this month. No highway has been left but the ruler has sent soldiers to check; and we have been told that he might be coming by this road of yours." He asked, "Has he, (the ruler) sent (after him) anyone better than you?" They said, "No. We have only been informed that he might be found on this way of yours." He asked, "Do you think that if God has willed that he be raised, can any of the people turn that decision back?" They said, "No." So, they entered into allegiance with him and went into his monastery. The monk asked (the Quraysh), "By God. Tell me who is his caretaker?" They said, "Abu Tālib." He persisted in persuading him until he decided to send back Muhammad in the company of Abu Bakr and Bilāl. The monk also provided Muhammad with some cake and olives."

Scholars have different opinions about this report. Tirmidhi has said that it is Good (*Hasan*). But Hākim,⁹⁷ Albāni,⁹⁸ 'Urjun,⁹⁹ Shu'ayb and 'Abdul-Qādir Arna'ut¹⁰⁰ have accepted it as Sound (*Sahih*). Ibn Hajar has said,¹⁰¹ "Its reporters are trustworthy and there is nothing objectionable in it except the mention of Abu Bakr and Bilāl. It is possible that this piece was interpolated by one of the narrators, or inserted by mistake." Ibn Qaiyim¹⁰² has said that the error of the last sentence is quite apparent.

Dhahabi¹⁰³ however does not accept the report. He wrote, "It is Denounced (*Munkar*) report. The Prophet ﷺ was then around ten years old. And Abu Bakr was younger than him by two and a half years. Where was Bilāl then? Abu Bakr purchased him only after the Prophet ﷺ was commissioned (some 30 years later). At the time of the incident, Bilāl was perhaps not even born. Moreover, if there was a piece of cloud providing shade to the Prophet ﷺ, where was the need for the tree to bend forward and provide him the shade? Again, Abu Tālib never spoke of the incident to anyone thereafter. Nor did the Quraysh ever discuss it. Surely, an incident

⁹⁷ *Al-Mustadrak* (2/616) and ruled that it meets with the conditions of the *Shaykhain* (Bukhārī and Muslim).

⁹⁸ Footnotes of *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazālī, p. 68, *Difā'*, p. 62-72. He said: "Its chain is *Sahih* as Jazari said." He said: "But the mention in the report of Abu Bakr and Bilāl has not been preserved properly." Then he added: It was reported by Bazzār who said: "His uncle sent a man to accompany him."

⁹⁹ *Muhammad Rasulullah* (1/169-71).

¹⁰⁰ Footnote of *Zād* (1/76) and he said while tracing this *Hadith*: "Its attribution is *Sahih*. Hāfiz Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Isābah*: Its narrators are trustworthy, but the mention of Abu Bakr and Bilāl has not been preserved (in any report). Bazzār reported it in his *Musnad* and added: And his uncle sent along with him another man." Abdul-Qadir Arna'ut, the verifier of *Jami'ul-Usul* said in his footnote (11/261), after tracing it, "And the mention of Bilāl has not been preserved. The great scholars have considered it an illusion for the age of the Prophet ﷺ at that time was 12 years, and Abu Bakr was two years younger than him, and Bilāl may not have been born at that time."

¹⁰¹ Quoted from Zurqāni, commentary on *Al-Mawāhibul-Ladunniyah* (1/196).

¹⁰² *Zādul-Ma'ād* (1/76).

¹⁰³ *Tārikhul-Islam – The Sirah*, p. 57.

of this sort could not have gone undiscussed. Actually, the news should have spread far and wide. Moreover, the Prophet ﷺ himself would have retained it in his memory and would not have been so surprised when first addressed by revelation. In contrast, initially he failed to understand what it was about and went to Khadijah in fear of his life. Further, if Abu Tālib apprehensively sent him back, how did he later allow him to travel to Shām, trading on behalf of Khadijah? Also, the *Hadith* diction and style is that of the Sufi orders. Finally, Ibn 'Ā'idh has a similar report to narrate in some of the biographical works, but without the sentence that speaks of Abu Bakr and Bilāl."

Ibn Kathir¹⁰⁴ has written, "It has some Unfamiliar (*Gharib*) parts. Moreover, the report does not reach the Prophet ﷺ himself. It stops at Abu Musa Ash'ari who embraced Islam in the year of Khayber, that is, in the seventh year after *Hijrah*. Further, the cloud is not mentioned in better transmitted versions." He goes on to raise the same questions as Dhahabi's.

Ibn Sayyidin-Nās¹⁰⁵ has said that some parts of the report are Denounced (*Munkar*). Dhahabi's¹⁰⁶ opinion expressed in his abridgement of *Al-Mustadrak* is that it is a Fabricated (*Maudu'*) report, some parts of it are hard to accept (*Bātil*). 'Abdur-Rahmān Wākil¹⁰⁷ has said in his notes on *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* that the part that mentions Abu Bakr and Bilāl is Denounced (*Munkar*).

We are however inclined to accept the report along with such of those who did not reject it such as, Tirmidhi, Hākim, Ibn Sayyidin-Nās, Jazari, Ibn Kathir, 'Asqalāni, Suyuti, Ibn Hajar, Albāni and others. The main point of contention is the mention of Abu Bakr and Bilāl, which could be an interpolation by one of the narrators.

Ibn Ishāq¹⁰⁸ too has mentioned this story in the same words as of Tirmidhi, missing out on Abu Bakr and Bilāl. However, he does

¹⁰⁴ *Al-Bidāyah* (2/307-310).

¹⁰⁵ See: *Uyunul-Athar fi Fununil-Maghāzi was-Siyar* (1/43).

¹⁰⁶ *Al-Mustadrak* by Hākim (2/615).

¹⁰⁷ See Suhayli: *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (2/226-227) along with Wākil's notes (2/226-227).

¹⁰⁸ *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/236-240).

not trace the chain of narrators. He depends on versions as found in biographical works. However, it is understandable that every version without a chain of narrator has a source from where it was picked up.¹⁰⁹

As regards Ibn Kathir¹¹⁰ declaring it weak because Abu Musa embraced Islam only after the fall of Khayber, we might point out, apart from Ibn Kathir's own effort to clear the issue, that there is another version narrated by Razin¹¹¹ through 'Ali bin Abu Tālib, and he from his father. Ibn Athir¹¹² has said that there aren't great many differences between that narration and the one of Tirmidhi through Abu Musa. This weakens the weakness theory.¹¹³ Finally, a report reaching a Companion through trustworthy narrators is considered trustworthy by most scholars.

Umawi¹¹⁴ has narrated that the Prophet ﷺ travelled with his uncle Zubayr to Yemen when he was a little more than ten years old. It is reported, although not through strong chains of narration, that they saw a few signs during this journey. One of them was that a camel cut across their path in one of the valleys. When it saw the Prophet ﷺ, it knelt down and placed its neck down on the ground (in submission). The Prophet ﷺ rode upon it. Another is that once a flooded pool lay before them. Allāh (ﷻ) dried it up for them to help them cross the valley.

The Wisdom in the Descriptive Words of the People of the Book concerning the Prophet ﷺ

In the story of the monk Bahira is the confirmation that the

¹⁰⁹ See the studies covering the opinions of the critics of Ibn Ishāq in the book: *Mabhath Masādiris-Sirah*.

¹¹⁰ *Al-Bidāyah* (2/309).

¹¹¹ See the introduction to *Jami'ul-Usul* (1/48).

¹¹² *Jami'ul-Usul* (11/259-261).

¹¹³ Dr. Sulayman 'Awdah: *As-Siratus-Sabīyah fis-Sahihayn*, and also Ibn Ishāq, p. 134.

¹¹⁴ *Al-Maghāzi* as has been quoted from it by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (2/300-301). The report however is weak because of 'Uthmān Waqqāsi's presence in the chain who was a weak narrator. Further, the report is Disconnected (*Mursal*), stopping at 'Ali bin Musaiyab.

earlier people knew through their Scriptures the attributes of the Prophet ﷺ and had some idea about when he was to be sent. The following Qur'ānic Verse also confirms this. It said about the Jews,

﴿وَلَمَّا جَاءَهُمْ كِتَابٌ مِّنْ عِندِ اللَّهِ مُصَدِّقٌ لِّمَا مَعَهُمْ وَكَانُوا مِن قَبْلُ يَسْتَفِخُونَ عَلَى الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا فَلَمَّا جَاءَهُمْ مَا عَرَفُوا كَفَرُوا بِهِ فَلَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَى الْكَافِرِينَ﴾

"And when a Book from Allāh came to them, confirming that which is with them, while they were seeking victory over the pagans (by him); but when that came which they recognized (as Allāh's revelation), they denied it. So Allāh's curse be upon the disbelievers."¹¹⁵

Bukhārī¹¹⁶ has reported on the authority of 'Ata bin Yasār that 'Abdullah bin 'Amr said that the Qur'ānic Verse,

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ إِنَّا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ شَهِيدًا وَمُبَشِّرًا وَنَذِيرًا﴾

"O Prophet. We have sent you a witness, a harbinger of good news and a warner,"¹¹⁷

is in the Torah in the following words, "O Prophet. We have sent you a witness, an evangelist and a saviour of the unlettered. You are My slave and Messenger. I have named you *Al-Mutawakkil*, neither coarse nor harsh nor shouting in the markets. He does not retaliate a wrong with another wrong. Rather he overlooks and forgives. I shall not deal him death until a misguided people have said, 'There is no deity (worthy of worship) save Allāh.' That testimony will give sight

¹¹⁵ *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 89. See what Tabari (2/332-336/Shākir) has reported in explaining this *Ayah*. The several weak reports there raise the whole to the level of *Hasan li Ghairihi*.

¹¹⁶ *Al-Fath* (18/213-214/H. 4838). See the *Hadith* narrated through 'Abdullah bin Salām, Ka'b Ahbār and 'Āishah in *Al-Bukhārī*. Bayhaqi also quoted from him in his *Dalā'il* (1/378-83). See other reports with Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (1/378-383).

¹¹⁷ *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 45.

to the blind, ears to the deaf and open the hearts of those whose hearts are closed."

The reason for men like Salmān Fārisi to accept Islam was the search they had launched following Jewish and Christian prophecies.

We also know that the People of the Book tried to obliterate the prophecy concerning the final Messenger from their holy Scriptures. The Qur'ān said,

﴿فَوَيْلٌ لِلَّذِينَ يَكْتُمُونَ الْكِتَابَ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ ثُمَّ يَقُولُونَ هَذَا مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ لِيَشْتَرُوا بِهِ ثَمَنًا قَلِيلًا﴾

"Woe unto those who write the book by their hands and then say, 'This is from Allāh,' in order to earn a paltry price."^{118,119}

However they were denied complete success in their efforts, as is evident from some of the prophecies still remaining in their books.¹²⁰ More specifically, some of the Gospels have the name of the Prophet ﷺ, his qualities, the time of his commissioning and the place, all foretold. Dr. Muhammad Rawwās Qalā'ji¹²¹ has written on this topic in some detail, and we shall have more to write on this topic in this work later.

¹¹⁸ Surat Al-Baqarah: 79.

¹¹⁹ See the incidents mentioned in the *Tafsir* of this *Ayah* in Tabari: *Tafsir* (2/332-336/Shākir).

¹²⁰ See *Gospel of Barnabas*, chapter 42/3 and the following pages. Chapter 43, p. 25 and the following pages. And ch. 41/27 and the pages that follow. Also see Matthew 4/17, 20/61, 21/42-44. Also see *The Old Testament: Daniel* 2/31-45 where the time for the appearance of the Prophet ﷺ is stated.

¹²¹ In his book *Min Ruhil-Qur'ān*, p. 35 and the following pages of the first print. And his book *Muhammad fil-Kutubil-Muqaddasah*. Also see his book: *Al-'Aqidatul-Islamiyyatu fi Muwajahtil-Madhāhibil-Haddāmah*. This present footnote and the previous one have been taken from his book *Qira'atun-Jadidah lis-Siratin-Nabawiyyah* (a source which has been mentioned earlier), p. 39. This is for the benefit of those who wish to increase their knowledge.

The Prophet ﷺ as a Shepherd

Bukhārī¹²² has recorded Abu Hurayrah ؓ narrating the Prophet ﷺ, "There hasn't been a Prophet but he shepherded sheep." They asked him, "Did you shepherd also?" He replied, "Yes. I used to do it for the Makkans for a few pieces of silver."¹²³

Bukhārī¹²⁴ and Muslim¹²⁵ have also recorded Jābir bin 'Abdullah's report that the Prophet ﷺ used to shepherd sheep.

Wisdom in Shepherding

1. Ibn Hajar¹²⁶ reports the opinion of the scholars: "The wisdom in Allāh's Prophets shepherding cattle is to give them a firsthand experience in looking after and managing the people. The company of the cattle inculcates in a man high degree of patience and tenderness towards his flock. While looking after the cattle, gathering them together after their dispersal, driving them from place to place, protecting them from their enemies such as wild beasts and hustlers, learning the differences in their natural dispositions, and that they disperse instead of staying together, despite their weakness (against predators), the Prophets learnt how to deal with the people who accepted their call. Further, the Prophet's own acknowledgement (that he shepherded sheep), despite the fact that he was the best of creatures, was to acknowledge Allāh's grace on him and his brother-Prophets.
2. It also apparent that despite the fact that his uncle was a well-to-do man, although with a large family, the Prophet ﷺ did not depend on him economically, rather, with the sensitivity endowed to him, he ventured to earn whatever little he could to

¹²² *Al-Fath* (10/5/H. 2262).

¹²³ Ibn Hajar mentions that the scholars hold two opinions concerning the meaning of the word *Qarārit* in Arabic. First, *Qirāt* (singular of *Qarārit*), which is a part of a dinar or dirham. Second, *Qarārit* is the name of a place in Makkah (*Al-Fath* 10/5).

¹²⁴ *Al-Fath* (20/278/H. 5453).

¹²⁵ *Sahih Muslim* (3/1621/H. 2050).

¹²⁶ *Al-Fath* (10/5-6/explanation of H. 5453).

lessen his uncle's burden.

3. Allāh (ﷻ) was fully capable of providing Muhammad (ﷺ) with all the comforts of life and free him from the trouble of earning his livelihood. But Allāh wished to impress on us that the best of livelihood is that which a man earns for himself through his own efforts, and that a man's value is in how much he can contribute, through his meagre means towards the welfare of society.
4. Those that are engaged in propagation and depend on people's donations do not enjoy much respect. It is better for a person to depend on his own meagre means of livelihood, and avoid dependence on others, so that no one should taunt him over material help, and so that he should be able to present his message with full moral force.¹²⁷

Allāh's Special Care in safeguarding Him from Pagan Rituals

The Prophet (ﷺ) had participated in the reconstruction of the Ka'bah after its damage. He used to carry stones for construction. He had a garment on. His uncle 'Abbās (رضي الله عنه) suggested that he remove his garment to use it on the head for carrying stones. When he helped him do that, the Prophet (ﷺ) fell unconscious. He was never seen naked by anyone thereafter.¹²⁸

On another occasion he was carrying stones for his Qurayshi playmates. When he took his garment out to place it on his shoulder to make carrying easier, an unseen person boxed him hard telling him, "Don't remove your garment," and, tied it back on him. The unseen person was not one of the boys he was playing with.¹²⁹

It is also reported that Allāh (ﷻ) saved him twice when he wished to spend an evening in the manner young men spend their evenings. However, there is a difference in opinion over the narration. Hākim, Dhahabī¹³⁰ and others have accepted the report

¹²⁷ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 54-55.

¹²⁸ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (3/24/H. 364), *Muslim* (1/268/H. 340).

¹²⁹ Ibn Ishāq without chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/241).

¹³⁰ *Al-Mustadrak* (4/254) which Hākim declared *Sahih* and Dhahabi agreed with him.

as Sound (*Sahih*), while Ibn Kathir¹³¹ and Albānī¹³² have questioned it giving reasons that sound strong.

The Prophet (ﷺ) also opposed his people—the Quraysh—known as *Hums*,¹³³ by starting his pilgrimage from 'Arafāt, while the *Hums* started from Muzdalifah alone. Jubayr bin Mu't'im was surprised by the Prophet's disagreement¹³⁴ with the Quraysh. It was of course by Allāh's guidance, as Jubayr (رضي الله عنه) himself said after he had embraced Islam.¹³⁵

¹³¹ *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/312).

¹³² Footnote of *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghāzali, pp. 72-73, and *Difa'*, p.13 and the following pages. See this story in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Abu Nu'aym (1/186). Said the two verifiers after reporting this *Hadith*, "Reported by Ishāq bin Rahwayh in his *Musnad* and Ibn Ishāq, Bazzār, Bayhaqi, Abu Nu'aym and Ibn 'Asākir: all of them through 'Ali bin Abu Tālib. Ibn Hajar said: Its attribution is Good (*Hasan*), its chain is Uninterrupted (*Musalsil*) and its narrators were trustworthy. Haythami said in his *Majma'* (9/226): "Reported by Bazzār and its reporters were trustworthy." Albānī however mentioned the following defects:

1. It was not according to the conditions set by Muslim as Hākim and Dhahabi thought, because sometimes Muslim reports through Ibn Ishāq while joining others with him, while Hākim does not quote through him in conjunction with others.
2. Muhammad bin 'Abdullah bin Qays was not a completely righteous person, and none have given him the clearance except Ibn Hibbān who was known of trusting Unknown (*Majhul*) reporters.
3. Muhammad bin Qays was not one of the narrators of Muslim. See the rest of Albānī's critical remarks in the footnote of *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazālī, p. 73.

¹³³ The *Hums* were the people who lived in the Haram and all those Arabs who were born in the Haram or in the area in its immediate vicinity as well as those who were with other tribes such as Kinānah and Jadilah. They believed that they have attained a status higher than other Arabs, and thus stood themselves out against others by abandoning to stand at 'Arafāt and making *Ifādah* from there. See: *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (7/320/H. 1665) and *Muslim* (2/893-894/H. 1219) and *Ibn Hishām* (1/256) and *Ibn Kathir* (2/313).

¹³⁴ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (7/320/H. 1664) Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (1/2610); Humaydi: *Al-Musnad* (91/255); *Muslim* (2/894/H. 1220); *Al-Isābah* (2/65), biography of Jubayr bin Mu't'im.

¹³⁵ From the narration of Ibn Ishāq through a Good (*Hasan*) chain. See *Ibn Hishām* (1/261-262); *Al-Bidāyah* (2/313).

Islam did away with the practice of the so-called *Hums* that the Quraysh practiced in pre-Islamic times. Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿ثُمَّ أَفِيضُوا مِنْ حَيْثُ أَفَاضَ النَّاسُ﴾

"Thereafter, surge on from where the (common) people surge on."¹³⁶

(*Hums* practice dictated that a man of the higher strata, such as the Quraysh, may not visit certain sites during *Hajj*, although necessary for the ordinary people—Translator)

Bayhaqi¹³⁷ has reported through Zayd bin Hārithah that the Prophet ﷺ never touched a deity. In pre-Islamic times he used to prevent others from doing it. Similarly, at the time of circumambulation of the Ka'bah, he would not touch the deities Isāf and Nā'ilah.

Ibn Ishāq¹³⁸ has reported that when the monk Bahira swore by the Lāt and 'Uzza, following the Quraysh practice, the Prophet ﷺ told him, "Don't ask me anything in the name of Lāt and 'Uzza. I have never hated anything more than I hate them."

Allāh also saved him from the trappings of *Shaytān*¹³⁹ both in

¹³⁶ *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 199. And for the reason for its revelation see: *Muslim* (2/894/H. 1219) and Ibn Ishāq without a chain of narration—*Ibn Hishām* (1/261). And whatever is narrated without a chain is weak.

¹³⁷ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (2/34), *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/312); *Sirat* of Dhahabi, p. 81. Dhahabi said that this *Hadith* is *Hasan*. His redactor Dr. Tadmuri said: "Narrated by Abu Ya'la, Bazzār, and Tabarāni, *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (9/418)."

¹³⁸ *Ibn Hishām* (1/238) with a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain, see *Al-Bidāyah* (2/312-13); Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il* (2/35). But they are all weak attributions. As regard to his not swearing by Lāt and 'Uzza and detesting them, this has been proved by *Sahih Ahādith*. See Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/222) with *Sahih* attribution, narrated by Haythami in the *Majma'* (8/225) where he said that its narrators were trustworthy men. The narrative goes this way: "At the time when the Prophet ﷺ was married to Khadijah, their neighbor used to say that he heard the Prophet ﷺ saying to Khadijah, 'O Khadijah, by Allāh, I shall never worship Lāt and 'Uzza. By Allāh, I'll never worship 'Uzza.' Khadijah replied: 'Leave Lāt, leave 'Uzza.'"

¹³⁹ See: *Dalā'il* by Abu Nu'aym (1/191); *Al-Isābah* (2/389); Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/419), and others, his reporters are trustworthy, as said the two verifiers of the *Dalā'il*.

the pre-Islamic times as well as after.¹⁴⁰

The Prophet ﷺ also refused to spend time near the Buwānah deity at which place the Quraysh used to conduct celebrations once every year. Abu Tālib and his other uncles were very angry with him over that. When the Prophet ﷺ was about to give in to their pressure, Allāh (ﷻ) saved him by sending him a tall fair man who commanded him not to touch the deities. After that the Prophet ﷺ never participated in any of their celebrations.¹⁴¹

Bayhaqi¹⁴² reports that two angels advised him against visiting the pagan sanctuaries and so he stayed away.

¹⁴⁰ See: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Abu Nu'aym (1/192-212). Both of the chains of narration are weak, because of the weakness of Husayn bin 'Abdullah. However several *Sahih* or weak reports concerning the Prophet's abhorrence of the idols add to its strength.

¹⁴¹ Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (1/158) through Wāqidi, through a weak chain.

¹⁴² See the whole *Hadith* in *Dalā'il* (2/35) and *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/312) being one of the reports of Abu Shaybah. Ibn Kathir said about this *Hadith*: "More than one Imam (of *Hadith*) rejected this *Hadith* because of Abu Shaybah. Bayhaqi reported in his *Dalā'il* (2/36) some scholars as saying that the meaning of the *Hadith* is that, he was present when the idols were being received, and that was before the revelation, and Allāh knows best."

Dhahabi mentioned in *Mizānul-I'tidāl* (3/35) that 'Uthmān bin Abu Shaybah was one of those approved by the *Shaykhayn* in their *Sahihayn* (as a narrator), and rejected the opinions of 'Uqayli and Azdi, who declared the *Hadith* weak. On the other hand, Dr. 'Abdul-Mu'ti Qal'ahji, the redactor of *Dalā'il Al-Bayhaqi*, who is inclined to believe, said while tracing this *Hadith* that, "Abu Ya'la, Ibn 'Adi and Ibn 'Asākir have reported it through Jābir bin 'Abdullah."

Dhahabi reported it in his *Sirah* (see p. 79 and the following pages), "Many *Ahādith* mention Allāh's prevention of the Messenger ﷺ (from acts of infidels) during the pre-Islamic times. Of these *Ahādith* some have full chains of narration which he did not judge for veracity, neither he nor his redactor Dr. Tadmuri, while some carry no chain of narration whatsoever. On the other hand, Shaykh Tarhuni said the *Sanad* of the *Hadith* was of the Sound (*Hasan*) type as mentioned in the *Sahihus-Siratin-Nabawiyyah* (footnote no. 209).

Wisdom in the Prevention from Participation in Pagan Practices

1. The reports impress on us that the Prophet ﷺ was guarded against pagan practices both before and after he was commissioned. This arrangement was from Allāh Himself in order to render him and his commission unblemished.
2. To get naked before the people is of the disapproved things. Islam prohibits it except for special circumstances such as for medical treatment.¹⁴³
3. In keeping the Prophet ﷺ away from pagan practices, there was an indication that he was being prepared for an important mission.

The Fijār War

A battle that raged between Kinānah and Quraysh on one side and Qays 'Aylān on another, was called the Fijār war because both sides flouted the sanctity of the Haram.¹⁴⁴ The reason for the battles also happened to be something trivial. Following the slaying of a single person the Quraysh came out for a fight, calling upon their allies to help them.¹⁴⁵

Ibn Ishāq¹⁴⁶ recounts that when the battles took place, the Prophet ﷺ was about 20 years old. Ibn Hishām however believes the Prophet ﷺ was fourteen or fifteen and that he witnessed a few battles along with his uncles. He said, "I used to collect arrows for my uncles."

Since the Fijār battles lasted over a long period, it is possible to say that both Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām¹⁴⁷ are correct. Perhaps the Prophet ﷺ was around fifteen years old when the battles started and twenty by the time they ended.

¹⁴³ See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (3/24).

¹⁴⁴ See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (3/24).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibn Hishām* (1/241-243) without a chain, so it is weak.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibn Hishām* (1/243) without a chain, so it is weak.

¹⁴⁷ (1/241) and look at its details there, pp. 241-242. As for the *Hadith* which was attributed to the Messenger ﷺ had an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain and hence it is Weak (*Da'if*).

It is also known that the Prophet's direct involvement in any battle has not been proved although he had reached the fighting age. Suhayli¹⁴⁸ however has thought the true reason was that the fight was between unbelieving factions and a believer never participates in a war unless it were to be for raising Allāh's Word aloft.

I personally believe that if the report of his participation is true, then it was only symbolic. It is also possible to say that the Prophet ﷺ might have participated in the battle in defence of the holy places, especially since Qays 'Ailān (tribe) was the aggressor. Coming to the aid of the oppressed has been a value upheld by the Prophets and Messengers.

Participation in the Fudul Pact

Ahmad¹⁴⁹ has a report according to which the Prophet ﷺ said, "I participated in the pact made by the good people¹⁵⁰ (Banu Hāshim, Zuhrah and Makhzum) along with my uncles although I was just a boy. And I wouldn't wish that I had a couple of red camels in return of non-participation." Bayhaqī's words are:¹⁵¹ "I

¹⁴⁸ *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (1/209).

¹⁴⁹ *Al-Musnad* (3/121/Shākir). Shākir said that the chain is *Sahih*.

¹⁵⁰ Hāshim, Zuhrah, and Makhzum were known as the *Mutayyibun*. This was said by some of those who narrated Abu Hurayrah's *Hadith*, as found in: *Dalā'il* of Bayhaqī (2/38). Bayhaqī said: "It was in this way that one of the men of *Hadith* explained it, but I don't know which one of them."

It has already been mentioned that Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (1/179-181) threw a hint at the *Mutayyibun* pact, which is where Quraysh differed after Qusaiy: Banu 'Abd Manāf and those who allied with them, and Banu 'Abdud-Dār and those who allied with them. Banu 'Abd Manāf brought out a bottle filled with perfume at the Ka'bah and the tribesmen immersed their hands in it and contracted and pledged and vowed along with their allies. Then they wiped the Ka'bah with their perfumed hands, and so were called *Mutayyibun*. In response, Banu 'Abdud-Dār also pledged and vowed along with their allies at the Ka'bah that they would not dishonor each other and would not hand over each other to the enemy. They therefore were called the *Ahlāf*.

¹⁵¹ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (2/37-38) *Ibn Kathir: Al-Bidāyah* (2/315) reported by Bayhaqī from different routes and it has a Sound (*Sahih*) chain.

did not participate in any pact except the pact of Hāshim, Zuhrah and Makhzum. And I don't break that pact for red camels." Commenting on this report, Bayhaqi¹⁵² says that some people think¹⁵³ he meant the Fudul pact. That is because the Prophet ﷺ actually did not participate in the pact of Hāshim, Zuhrah and Makhzum. Then, later, in the same work *As-Sunan Al-Kubra*,¹⁵⁴ Bayhaqi says that he did not participate in the pact of Hāshim, Zuhrah and Makhzum. So, I am inclined to believe that it was the Fudul pact that the Prophet ﷺ was referring to.

It is possible to reconcile the reports of Ahmad, Bayhaqi and of the biographers by assuming that the pact of Hāshim, Zuhrah and Makhzum was renewed during the Prophet's time and came to be known as the Fudul¹⁵⁵ pact.

Humaydi¹⁵⁶ has recorded a tradition in which the Prophet ﷺ said, "I was present in the house of 'Abdullah bin Jad'ān¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² *Dalā'il* (2/38).

¹⁵³ He is alleging to Ibn Qutaybah—the author of *Al-Ma'ārif*, who said that *Mutayyibun* pact was no other than Fudul pact. Bayhaqi in *As-Sunan Al-Kubra* (6/367) censured him because the Prophet ﷺ was not yet born. Ibn Kathir agreed with this in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/315), and asserted that the pact mentioned in the *Hadith* as at which the Prophet ﷺ was present was the Fudul pact. Dr. Qal'ahji said while editing Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* that it became apparent from the studies of the sequence of the story that *Mutayyibun* pact was made at the time of Hāshim, the father of 'Abdul-Muttalib, the grandfather of the Prophet ﷺ. However, Ibn Hishām distinguished between the two pacts while Ibn Ishāq mentioned the elements of each pact and the reason for each of the pact, illustrating that there were differences between the two pacts. See the discussion in Ibn Kathir (2/315-317) regarding this dispute, and also Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (2/37-42) especially the footnote of the verifier.

¹⁵⁴ (6/367).

¹⁵⁵ See Ibn Athir: *An-Nihāyah fi Gharibul-Hadith wal-Athar*, (3/456 under letters *Fa* and *Dad*). Ahmad Shākir: his footnotes in Ahmad's *Musnad* (3/122), and Shāmi in his book *Subulul-Huda war-Rashād* (2/209).

¹⁵⁶ Ibn Kathir quoted it from him in his *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/315) and it has a *Sahih* chain. Shāmi said in his *Sirat* and Dr. Qal'aji redactor of Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il*, "His words, 'Come into a pact.' up to the end, is an interpolation by one of the narrators, and does not reach the Prophet ﷺ, and, therefore, it cannot be argued with.

¹⁵⁷ He is a Taymi, related to 'Āishah, nicknamed Abu Zuhayr.

witnessing a pact that, were I to be invited to after Islam, I would have responded. In that pact they agreed that things lost by the people would be restored to them and that none will support the oppressor." Ibn Ishāq¹⁵⁸ has transmitted a report that the Prophet ﷺ said, "I was present in the house of 'Abdullah bin Jad'ān witnessing a pact that I wouldn't exchange for a pack of red camels, and if I were invited to it in Islam, I would respond."

Banu Hāshim, Banu 'Abdul-Muttalib, Banu Asad, Banu Zuhrah and Banu Taym agreed by this pact that they would help the oppressed against the oppressor. This was in Dhul-Qa'dah twenty years before the Prophet ﷺ was commissioned.¹⁵⁹ The Quraysh were then returning from the Fijār battles. The Prophet ﷺ was twenty. The Prophet's uncle Zubayr bin 'Abdul-Muttalib was the one who had invited others to the pact.

The cause of the pact is said to be that a man from Zubayd came into Makkah with some of his wares. 'Ās bin Wā'il Sahmi purchased some goods from him. He was one of the chieftains. He held back the price. The Zubaydi sought the help of his allies: 'Abdud-Dār, Makhzum, Jumah and Sahm. They refused to help him against 'Ās, rather, rebuked him. When the Zubaydi saw this, he climbed Abu Qays Mountain at sunrise, while the Quraysh were around the Ka'bah, and recited aloud a few poetical pieces. At that Zubayr bin 'Abdul-Muttalib got up and said, "Should such a man be refused help?" So, Quraysh, Zuhrah and Taym assembled in the house of 'Abdullah bin Jad'ān agreeing in Dhul-Qa'dah that they shall be one body in helping the oppressed until the oppressor is forced to return the dues—so long as the seas have waters,¹⁶⁰ and so long as Thabir and Hira' (mountains) remain in their places; and that they shall support each other in matters of livelihood. So, the Quraysh called it the Fudul pact (a useless pact), saying, "these people have ventured into a futile pact." Then they went up to 'Ās bin Wā'il, and restored the Zubaydi's goods to him.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Ibn Hishām (1/182-183). Its chain is *Sahih* but *Mursal*. But it is supported by Humaydi's *Hadith*, which adds to its strength.

¹⁵⁹ Ibn Ishāq, without an attribution—Ibn Hishām (1/182).

¹⁶⁰ This means forever. See Shāmi: *Subulul-Huda war-Rashād*, (2/210)

¹⁶¹ Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/315-316) he attributed it to no one

Lessons

1. If pagans were conscious of the wrongness of oppression and tried to prevent it, it is more deserving of the Muslims that they should stand against it. Islam has come down to confirm what is in human nature and is firmly opposed to oppression of any kind. It is not surprising that the Prophet ﷺ mentioned the pact. It contained articles that Islam invites people to.
2. The part played by Zayd bin 'Abdul-Muttalib confirms the good nature that the Banu Hāshim were endowed with. It also proves their superiority over other tribes, although, the fact that the Prophet ﷺ was raised from among them, is enough proof of superiority.

Marriage to Khadijah

Khadijah bint Khuwaylid bin Asad bin 'Abdul-'Uzza bin Qusaiy bin Kilāb was an intelligent, resourceful woman. She was from the noblest of families and the richest of their women. Important men of her family were covetous of her. She conducted trade with the help of active partners who got a share in profits. When she learnt of the Prophet's honesty, trustworthiness and high moral qualities, she sent him a message expressing her desire that he take her goods to Shām. She promised she would give him a greater share of the profits than what she would normally give others. He agreed to the terms and travelled in the company of Maysarah, a slave provided by her. Maysarah reported back to Khadijah what he saw of the Prophet's miracles. Impressed by them, she sent word expressing the desire that they get married.¹⁶²

Of the signs that Maysarah saw during the journey, one is that when the Prophet ﷺ was near the Busra town in Shām, he alighted

and did not ascribe to any of the biographers. *Ibn Sa'd* (1/128-129) reported it briefly through Wāqidi. For more information regarding the reasons for this nomenclature see Suhayli: *Ar-Rawd* (1/155).

¹⁶² *Ibn Ishāq*, without chain — *Ibn Hishām* (1/244-245).

near a tree. A monk living nearby called Nastura remarked, "No one but a Prophet alighted under the shade of this tree. Has he a red streak in his eyes?" When Maysarah said yes, and added that it doesn't go, he said, "He is the Prophet, and the last of them."

Maysarah also noticed two angels shading the Prophet ﷺ when the day was hot. Another report says Khadijah herself noticed that phenomenon at the time he entered Makkah at noon time. The same report has it that the Prophet ﷺ and another man disagreed over a deal. The man asked him to swear by Lāt and 'Uzza. The Prophet ﷺ replied, "I have never sworn by them. I have been ordered to abandon them."

The monk Nastura also told Maysarah, "This, by God, is the Prophet that our Scripture experts find described in the holy Scriptures." The story also has it that the profits earned by the Prophet ﷺ on his trip to Shām were many fold greater than what others had earned earlier. And Khadijah gave him a greater share than what they had agreed on at the beginning, which itself was higher than what she normally gave to others of the Quraysh.

Khadijah also mentioned to Waraqah details that Maysarah had brought, such as Nastura's words, "No one but a Prophet alighted under the shade of the tree," and, "two angels shaded him." Waraqah said, "If this is true then he is the Prophet raised for these people. I knew that he is to appear. The time is ripe."¹⁶³

It was these kinds of things that Khadijah heard from Maysarah and Waraqah, apart from what she herself experienced of his exemplary character that led her to make the proposal. She sent her friend Nafisah bint Muniyah to propose to him. The Prophet ﷺ agreed and the two got married.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Reported by Tabarāni in *Al-Awsat*. Haythami said in his *Majma'* (8/256), "Its chain is *Hasan*. Also reported by Ibn Ishāq without a chain — *Ibn Hishām* (1/247). And Tabarāni, proving that the *Hadith* reported by Muhāmily, Ibn Sa'd, and Ibn Ishāq has some basis. We shall soon mention it, Allāh willing.

¹⁶⁴ Reported by Muhāmily, as mentioned by Dhahabi in his *Sirat*, p. 64, being a narration of Nafisah bint Muniyah. Dhahabi however rejected the story that mentions the Prophet's journey to Shām as a merchant according to

Bazzār¹⁶⁵ and Tabarānī¹⁶⁶ have a report coming down from Jābir ؓ that Khadijah's sister had hired the Prophet ﷺ and another man for trading on her behalf. After they were back from their journey, and the accounts were settled, a sum of money had to be paid by Khadijah's sister. The other man kept demanding his share. But when the Prophet ﷺ was reminded that he should also seek his due, he replied that he was shy of asking. She reported this to Khadijah. She was pleased by this and decided to marry him. She asked him to seek her father's consent. The Prophet ﷺ told her, "Your father is a rich man. I am afraid he wouldn't agree." She said in reply, "Go and speak to him. I'll take care of him. Also, better see him at a time he is drunk."

Khadijah ؓ was previously married to 'Atiq bin 'Ā'idh Makhzumi. She bore him a female child. After him she was married to Abu Hālah bin Nabbāsh Tamimi. She bore him a boy - Hind - and a girl. Abu Hālah died in pre-Islamic times.¹⁶⁷

Ibn Sa'd¹⁶⁸ however thinks that she was first married to Abu Hālah, whose name was Hind bin Nabbāsh bin Zurārah. She gave birth to a son Hind. Then 'Atiq bin 'Ābid bin 'Abdullah Makhzumi married her. She bore him a girl, also called Hind. Thereafter, Sayfi bin Umaiyah bin 'Ābid bin 'Abdullah married her. Sayfi's biography is available in *Al-Isābah* as well as *Al-Isti'āb*."

the *Hadith* of Nafisah bint Munyah in which it was mentioned that Khadijah ؓ sent Nafisah to the Messenger of Allāh to propose marriage to him. Dhahabi believes this story is weak because it includes 'Abdullah bin Shabib who was a worthless person—Musa bin Shaybah who was weak (in narration), and 'Umar bin Abu Bakr 'Adawi who was weak too. Ibn Ishāq reported this *Hadith* without a chain—Ibn Hishām (1/244-245), and Ibn Sa'd (1/129-133) with a weak chain.

¹⁶⁵ See: *Kashful-Astār* (3/237).

¹⁶⁶ Haythami in the *Majma'* (9/222) and the report is of *Hasan* status, in the least.

¹⁶⁷ So said Ibn Hajar in his *Al-Fath* (14/287). See *Ibn Asākir*, pp. 140, 142, 148, and 149. This was one of the reports of Ibn Ishāq in *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 245. It is also with *Ibn Sa'd* (8/15) as Ibn 'Ābid. In *Al-Ikmāl* (6/1) it is Ibn 'Āidh.

¹⁶⁸ *At-Tabaqāt* (8/14-15).

As for the Prophet ﷺ, this was his first marriage and he didn't marry another woman until Khadijah's death.¹⁶⁹ According to most authorities he was twenty-five years old at the time of his marriage.¹⁷⁰

Scholars differ over who got Khadijah married to him. Bayhaqi¹⁷¹ said that it was her father Khuwaylid who married her off to him in a state of drunkenness. But the narrator Mu'ammili, 'Umar bin Abu Bakr concludes that according to unanimous opinion it was her uncle 'Amr bin Asad who married her off to him. However, Haythami¹⁷² disregards this report on grounds that this man Mu'ammili was abandoned by the scholars of *Hadith* as a narrator. Ibn Ishāq¹⁷³ is of the opinion (in his *Subulul-Huda war-Rashād*) that it was her father who conducted the marriage. On the

¹⁶⁹ Muslim (4/1889/H. 2436), *Ibn Hishām* (1/246) but a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report. Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (14/291): "At this point there is no difference of opinion between the scholars."

¹⁷⁰ Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (14/286-295). Bukhāri dedicated a whole chapter to it under the title: The marriage of the Prophet ﷺ to Khadijah and her Virtues, see: *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/286-295/H. 3818-3824). See Ibn 'Asākir: *Tarikh Madinati Dimashq, As-Siratun-Nabawiyyah*, Part-1, p. 156, 157, and *Ibn Sa'd* (8/16,17) who quoted through Waqidi. It is alleged that his age was thirty years at that time. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh Dimashq, As-Siratun-Nabawiyyah*, Part-1, p. 158. However its chain is weak, and it is a Contradicting (*Shadhdh*) report as it opposes the opinion of the great majority.

¹⁷¹ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (2/71-72). But its chain is very weak, Ibn Ishāq. See *Ibn Hishām* (1/246). However, it has strong supporting evidences such as: (a) The *Hadith* of Ibn 'Abbās that was recorded by Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (73) with a weak chain (b) the *Hadith* of Abu Mijlaz mentioned in *Ibn Sa'd* (1/132) with a weak chain. (c) the *Hadith* of Ibn 'Abbās recorded by Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/197) with a Strong (*Qawi*) chain; (d) The *Hadith* of Zuhri which was reported by Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (2/69) with a Mursal chain.

¹⁷² *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (9/220-221). Bayhaqi reported in a different way than Mu'ammili that her father approved her marriage when he was intoxicated. The verifier said: Imam Ahmad reported it in his *Musnad* (1/312) in a lengthy manner but with a weak chain. Haythami also quoted it from him in *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (9/220) and added, "Ahmad's men of narration are trustworthy."

¹⁷³ *Ibn Hishām* (1/246).

other hand Suhayli,¹⁷⁴ Ibn Kathir¹⁷⁵ and Shāmi¹⁷⁶ say that Ibn Ishāq's opinion in his biographical work is that it was her brother 'Āmr bin Khuwaylid who took the responsibility. But, we don't find this statement in the printed work of Ibn Ishāq. Wāqidi¹⁷⁷ on the other hand, believes her uncle 'Amr bin Asad was the man who assented to the marriage. He adds that whoever said other than this is wrong for the simple reason that Khadijah's father died before the Fijār battles. Suhayli,¹⁷⁸ Ibn Sayyidin-Nās,¹⁷⁹ Ibn 'Abdul-Barr¹⁸⁰ and Shāmi¹⁸¹ have seconded this opinion.

If it is true that Khadijah's father died before the Fijār battles, then it must have been her uncle who conducted the marriage. Nonetheless, the reports that speak of her father marrying her off, are stronger. They come to us through several routes, although all of them weak, but gather strength because of their number. It is safe to say that there has to be some truth in the story. Allāh knows best.¹⁸²

It is reported that it was Hamzah bin 'Abdul-Muttalib who accompanied the Prophet ﷺ when he went to ask for Khadijah's hand.

¹⁷⁴ *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (1/214).

¹⁷⁵ *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/320).

¹⁷⁶ *Subulul-Huda war-Rashād* (2/225).

¹⁷⁷ Ibn Sa'd (1/132-133), *At-Tabari* (2/282).

¹⁷⁸ *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (1/213).

¹⁷⁹ *Uyunul-Athar* (1/50).

¹⁸⁰ *Al-Isti'āb* (4/280).

¹⁸¹ *Subulul-Huda war-Rashād* (2/224). Shāmi said here: "What has been reported to the effect that it was her uncle who married her to the Prophet ﷺ, is what is mentioned by most of the *Sirat* scholars. To that Suhayli added: "And that's correct, for what Tabari reported through Jubayr bin Mu'tim, Ibn 'Abbās and 'Āishah; they all said: It was 'Amr bin Asad who married Khadijah to the Prophet ﷺ and that Khuwaylid died before Fijār. Wāqidi preferred it and considered other than this as wrong."

¹⁸² Shaykh Muhammad bin Rizq bin Tarhuni thought that the story was *Hasan* of status. He meant the story which that ascribed Khadijah's father as the one who conducted the marriage in a state of drunkenness. One might look into his book *Sahihus-Sirah* (1/215-216) for further details.

The Prophet ﷺ held a special place in his heart for his wife Khadijah. The *Sahihayn*¹⁸³ and others have several reports on this topic. She was endowed with admirable qualities and was nicknamed as "The Pure"¹⁸⁴ and "The Unblemished."¹⁸⁵ Except for Ibrāhim through Māriyyah,¹⁸⁶ she gave the Prophet ﷺ all the children he had. It is generally agreed that she gave him Qāsim — hence the Prophet's acronym Abul-Qāsim. But the child died in infancy. He also had four daughters through her: Zaynab, Ruqayyah, Umm Kulthum and finally, Fātimah. It is said that after the daughters she gave birth to a son 'Abdullah, who was born after he was commissioned as a Prophet. The child was also known as Tāhir and Tayyib. But, according to some scholars, the two were

¹⁸³ See: *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/286-295/H. 3818-3824), *Muslim* (4/1886-1889/H. 2430-2437). Also see: *Jamī'ul-Usul* (9/120-125) and see the comment of Ibn Hajar on the meaning 'he should not marry another besides her,' *Al-Fath* (14/291) and the comment of Nawawi on the *Ahādith* on the virtues of Khadijah in *Muslim* explained by Nawawi (15/202); Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/318-320). As examples (one could quote) the Prophet ﷺ saying: "The best of its women is Maryam (Mary), and the best of its women is Khadijah," *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/288/H. 3818) and *Muslim* (4/1886/H. 2430). Narrated Abu Hurayrah: Jibril (Gabriel) came to the Prophet ﷺ and said, "O Allāh's Messenger! This is Khadijah. She is coming to you with a dish (or some food or drink). When she reaches you, greet her on behalf of her Lord and on my behalf, and give her the glad tidings of a palace made of a hollowed pearl in Paradise, wherein there will be neither any noise nor any toil," *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/293/H. 3823) and *Muslim* (4/1887/H. 2432).

¹⁸⁴ See Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārikh Dimashq*, pp. 109, 159.

¹⁸⁵ See: *Al-Fath* (14/291, H. 3821), *Sirat* of Dhahabi, pp. 65-66, *Ibn Hishām* (1/246). Ibn Ishāq reported without a chain that the sons of the Prophet ﷺ were: Qāsim, Tayyib, and Tāhir. See: *Tasmiyat al-Azwājin-Nabi wa Awlāduhu* by Abu 'Ubayd, pp. 48-53, Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārikh Dimashq*, pp. 102-136, who examined nearly all that had been said about the Prophet's sons, their date of birth, their death, their number, their names, and their conditions when alive or dead.

¹⁸⁶ See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (14/291), Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/247), and *Ibn Sa'd* (1/134-135) in some of which falls Wāqidi. At any rate the story is well known and there are no differences over its mention.

sons apart from 'Abdullah.¹⁸⁷ Nonetheless, all the male issues died either in infancy or in early childhood.¹⁸⁸ The girls however grew into his days of Messengership, believed in him and migrated with him to Madinah.¹⁸⁹

Khadijah ؓ died when she was sixty-five.¹⁹⁰ Some other scholars give a different age.¹⁹¹ She was forty when she married him.¹⁹² Once again,¹⁹³ this is the majority's opinion. Some have disagreed. Ibn Kathir has stated twenty-five and thirty-five.

Wisdom

1. The two angels providing shade to the Prophet ﷺ, and the monk's testimony, are proofs of the Prophet's Messengership.

¹⁸⁷ See Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārikh Dimashq, Siraun-Nabawīyyah*, section one, p. 108 and 117-118.

¹⁸⁸ Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (14/291), *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/318-319), Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il* (2/70) from the narration of Ibn 'Abbās with a very weak chain as it includes Ibrāhim bin 'Uthmān, who was Abandoned (*Matruk*). See also Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/247).

¹⁸⁹ *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/319), See *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (2/69).

¹⁹⁰ *Ibn Sa'd* (8/6/18) through Wāqidi and he was Abandoned (*Matruk*).

¹⁹¹ Mus'ab Zubayri said: "And Khadijah reached the age of sixty-five. It is also said that she reached fifty which is more correct." See: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (2/70-71), and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (2/318) where he gave no comments.

¹⁹² See Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (8/17) through Wāqidi and Wāqidi was abandoned.

¹⁹³ Hishām Kalbi narrated that her age was twenty-eight years, see Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (8/16-17). And Kalbi was abandoned. Further, this is a Contradicting (*Shadhdh*) report. According to another narration by Wāqidi, her age was 45 years, see Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārikh Dimashq, Siratun-Nabawīyyah*, section one, p. 157; but the narration is weak because Wāqidi who was abandoned in *Hadith* despite his wide knowledge. But his mastery is not rejected in *Siyar wal-Maghāzi*. Ibn Kathir said about her age when the Prophet ﷺ married her, "This is how Bayhaqi took from Hākim. Her age at that time was thirty-five. But some say twenty-five, *Al-Bidāyah* (3/319).

2. It can be deduced from Khadijah's desire to marry him that the Prophet ﷺ possessed an outstanding personality.
3. The traditions that speak of the virtues of Khadijah ؓ are proofs of her cardinal qualities and the special status that she enjoys with Allāh, His Messenger ﷺ and the believers.
4. There is nothing wrong in that a pious woman should make the first move seeking to marry a pious man as Khadijah ؓ did; Muhammad ﷺ attracted her by his piety.
5. The first thing that becomes apparent from this marriage is that the Prophet ﷺ didn't follow his carnal desires. If he had been, he would have looked for someone younger than himself, or, at least someone not older than him, and by all means not a widow. He seems to have been attracted to her because of her good qualities—someone who had been nicknamed "the pure." The marriage bond lasted until her death at sixty-five when the Prophet ﷺ was fifty. This is the period, from youth to middle age, when a man wishes to have several wives. But the Prophet ﷺ wished no such thing. Had he wished, there was no shortage of women both free and bonded. Had he done that, he wouldn't have been breaking a tradition.
6. The marriage of a noble and virtuous woman to a truthful and trustworthy man, and the offspring they brought, were blessings from Allāh (ﷻ) so that they could occupy an honourable position in the society.

Participation in the Construction of the Ka'bah

Bayhaqi¹⁹⁴ has reported that Allāh inspired Ibrāhim ؑ to build a House for Him. He felt constricted about it. So Allāh sent him

¹⁹⁴ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (2/55). Tabari reported it in his *Tafsir* (3/69-71), and Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (2/292-293) and said: "Sahih according to Muslim's conditions." Dhahabi agreed to that. Azruqi reported it in the *Tārikh Makkah* (1/24-25).

Sakinah (tranquility) which came in the form of a strong gale that had a head. It went and settled itself in the place where the House was to be built, coiling itself in the manner of a snake. As he began to construct he raised a foot or so every day. When he reached the point that is now occupied by *Al-Hajr Al-Aswad* (the Black Stone), he asked his son for a rock. He looked around and found a suitable rock. Then, all of a sudden he discovered that a stone was already in place. His son asked, "Where did you get that from?" He replied, "One who did not like to depend on your construction brought it. Jibril brought it from the heavens." And so Ibrāhīm عليه السلام completed the construction.

Bayhaqi¹⁹⁵ has another report of similar meaning in which he adds that when the House fell down, the Amalekites rebuilt it. When it fell down a second time, the Jurham tribe rebuilt it. The Prophet ﷺ was then a young man. When they wished to pull the old building down, a snake appeared on top of its wall, driving fear into their hearts. So the Quraysh assembled together and prayed to Allāh that He remove this obstacle. Allāh (ﷻ) sent a bird that snatched the snake from the wall and flew away towards the Ajyād mountains. The event reassured the Quraysh that they could demolish the old building for a new construction.¹⁹⁶ However, when construction began and the time came for lifting the Black Stone to its place, differences arose over who should do it. Finally they agreed that they would accept the mediation of the first person to appear next day from a certain direction. It was the Prophet ﷺ who appeared first. He ruled that they place the Stone on a sheet which was lifted by all the tribes.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (2/56, 57) and Hākim reported it in his *Mustadrak* (1/458) and declared it trustworthy while Dhahabi approved it.

¹⁹⁶ This is part of a *Hadith* narrated by 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Musannaf* (5/102/H. 9106). Dhahabi said in the *Sirat*, p. 77: "This is a *Sahih* report." Dhahabi also reported close to it in his *Sirat*, p. 77, through Muhammad bin Kathir Masisi through a Sound (*Sahih*) chain.

¹⁹⁷ This is the completion of a *Hadith* in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (2/56, 57). Hākim also traced it in his *Mustadrak* (1/458) declaring it *Sahih* with Dhahabi approving it.

Imam Ahmad¹⁹⁸ and the biographers¹⁹⁹ have reported that when the Quraysh differed among themselves over the placement of the Black Stone, someone suggested, "Appoint an arbiter." They agreed to the suggestion and said, "Let the first man appearing from this gorge be your arbiter." It so happened that the Prophet ﷺ was the one to appear. They said, "The Trustworthy has shown up." They presented the problem to him. He asked them to spread a piece of cloth and place the Black Stone on it. Then he asked the leaders of the tribes to lift the cloth. When they did that, he himself placed the stone in its position.

If not for Allāh's wisdom and His inspiration of the Prophet ﷺ to this solution, there could have been bloodshed²⁰⁰ on that occasion. For it is reported that the differences over the Black Stone took such a strong turn that the 'Abdud-Dār tribe brought forth a bowl filled with blood and, along with Banu 'Adi, dipped their fingers in the bowl, vowing death over the issue. Four or five days passed without the Quraysh being able to reach an agreement until the ordeal was resolved by the Prophet.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ *Al-Musnad* (3/425) from a *Hadith* narrated by Sā'ib bin 'Abdullah through a chain different from that of Ibn Ishāq. Albāni said its chain is Good (*Hasan*) in footnotes of *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazālī, p. 84. Hākim too declared its chain as Sound (*Sahih*) but Dhahabi made no comments. See *Al-Fathur-Rabbani* (20/200-201) where Hilāl bin Khabbāb is the narrator, who in his old age had got mixed up with narrations. But it is supported by a *Hadith* of 'Ali. Dhahabi reported it in his *Sirat*, p. 68 and in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (2/57), from a *Hadith* narrated by Zuhri through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—in which it is mentioned that this happened after the Prophet ﷺ had reached maturity! In this manner that report would prove true which speaks of the Prophet ﷺ settling the issue when the Quraysh differed over laying of the Black Stone.

¹⁹⁹ See Ibn Ishāq, without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/254-255). See also the footnotes of the redactors while they traced the report. Also see the footnote of the two verifiers of *Dalā'il Al-Isfahāni* (1/157-176) and Dhahabi's *Sirat*, p. 66, 68. *Ibn Sa'd* (1/145) who reports through Wāqidi. Ibn Ishāq's *Hadith* is supported by Ahmad, Hākim, Dhahabi, and others.

²⁰⁰ See: Preparations of the competing war factions in *Sirat* of Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (1/254).

²⁰¹ Ibn Ishāq, without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/254).

When they had raised the walls, Allāh (ﷻ) sent along a ship from the Roman lands. It broke up near Jeddah. The Quraysh went up to get some of its wood. They found a Roman carpenter near by. They took his permission to take the wood and hired him to make the roof for the Ka'bah.²⁰²

'Abdur-Razzāq²⁰³ and Ibn Ishāq²⁰⁴ are quite sure that the Prophet ﷺ was then around thirty-five years old. That's the accepted opinion,²⁰⁵ although a minority view is that he was twenty-five.²⁰⁶ Some have said that he was still a boy²⁰⁷ (which of course is a weak opinion since he hadn't still been nicknamed 'the Trustworthy').

Wisdom

1. The Quraysh's acceptance of the Prophet ﷺ as an arbiter in an important affair involving the Black Stone and their calling him 'the Trustworthy' were signs that Allāh had brought up Muhammad ﷺ on good qualities of which truthfulness and honesty were the outstanding ones.
2. The solution that the Prophet ﷺ offered for resolving the crisis was by Allāh's command in order to turn the attention of the

²⁰² This is part of a *Hadith* preserved by 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Musannaf* (5/102/H. 9106). This *Hadith* and its authenticity was dealt with earlier in this context itself; see footnote no. 198.

²⁰³ *Al-Musannaf* (5/102) with a *Sahih* chain, its narration goes like this: "The time difference between the building of the Ka'bah and the revelation was five years."

²⁰⁴ See *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/249) without a chain and so is Weak (*Da'if*).

²⁰⁵ See *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/324) and *Sirat Nabawiyyah* by Dhahabi, p. 77. One of the reports of 'Abdur-Razzāq, that Hākim treated as *Sahih*, and which Dhahabi approved. This can be found in the *Musannaf* (5/102-103) no. 9106.

²⁰⁶ Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (2/62). And, of those who held this opinion were: Musa bin 'Uqbah, Mujāhid, 'Urwah bin Zubayr and Muhammad bin Jubayr, through chains that stop at them. See also *Al-Bidāyah* (2/324).

²⁰⁷ Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (2/57). It stops at Zuhri. See also a discussion about these narrations by Dr. Qalā'ji in the footnote of *Dalā'il* (2/62).

people to a person that He was to choose for Messengership.

3. When the Prophet ﷺ was given a share in an affair that the Makkans considered so important, it was as if to allow him to play a part in every affair of importance, putting to use a variety of qualities that he possessed. That would have demonstrated that he was capable of solving problems of various kinds, especially those that required display of the qualities of truth and justice. His part in the construction of the Ka'bah and solution to the intractable problem that the Quraysh were facing and which could have led to bloodshed, was one of those events that helped the Prophet ﷺ gain experience in the real field of life and action.²⁰⁸

Corroborations by the People of the Book and the Arab Soothsayers closed as the time of the Appearance arrived

Ibn Ishāq²⁰⁹ has a whole chapter on the prophecies concerning the Prophet ﷺ by the Arab, Christian and Jewish soothsayers, priests and monks to the effect that the time of his appearance had arrived.

One such prophecy made by Arab soothsayers has come through a trustworthy chain terminating with Ibn 'Abbās. It speaks about the jinns being unable to gather the hitherto heavenly news because of fiery bodies hurled at them.²¹⁰ Another prophecy was from Sawād bin Qārib, the soothsayer who spoke to 'Umar. He said, "The devils felt humiliated and overtaken by disappointment before the Prophet's commissioning."²¹¹ His own entry into Islam was due

²⁰⁸ See Dr. Imāduddin Khalil: *Dirāsātun fis-Sirah*, pp. 48-49.

²⁰⁹ *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/262).

²¹⁰ *Muslim* (4/1751/H. 2229).

²¹¹ See its fuller version in *Sirat* of Ibn Hishām (1/268) with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain taken from Ibn Ishāq. And of those who narrated his story with 'Umar ؓ: *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/21-25/H. 2866). *Al-Bukhārī* did not mention the name of the priest as Sawād, but rather, it is Ibn Hajar who stated the name through chains of narration, some of which strengthen others. See *Al-Fath* (15/22) and also 'Ayni in *'Umdatul-Qāri* (17/6-7). Also see Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (2/248-254) with a chain that continues up to Bara' bin 'Āzib. See also the footnote of the two redactors of *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/268).

to his observations through soothsaying practices in which the jinn were invoked.²¹²

Ibn Ishāq²¹³ has another narration to the effect that a Jew lived in the neighbourhood of Banu 'Abdul-Ashhal. He spoke to them about Resurrection, Reckoning, etc. They refused to believe in him and asked him for evidence. He told them that a Prophet was about to be raised from some place around the land. He pointed in the direction of Makkah and Yemen.

Another report from Ibn Ishāq²¹⁴ discusses the reason of entry into Islam of a few persons named as Tha'labah bin Sa'yah, Usayd bin Sa'yah and Asad bin 'Ubayd. They were all Jews of the Banu Hadal, the brothers of Banu Qurayzah. A Jew called Ibn Haybān had prophesied the Prophet ﷺ. He had come down from Shām and had settled in Madinah a few years before the Prophet ﷺ was commissioned. He had come down hoping to catch up with the man that was destined to be commissioned and to follow him. He invited the Jews to do the same and warned them that no one should beat them on that. He told them about some of his signs. When the Banu Qurayzah forts were surrounded, these individuals embraced Islam.

In Salmān Fārisi's story is also a proof that a Prophet was being

²¹² Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/25), Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (2/249-251).

²¹³ Ibn Hishām (1/270) with a Continuous (*Muttasil*) chain and trustworthy narrators. Ibn Ishāq reported this *Hadith* and it is *Hasan*. More than one scholar has recorded this *Hadith* through Ibn Ishāq, for example: Ahmad (3/467), Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (8/230), and Abu Nu'aym: *Ad-Dalā'il* (1/74-75), Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (2/78-79), and Hākim: *Al-Mustadrak* (3/417-418). See also *Sirat* of Dhahabi, p. 74. All of them treated this report as Sound (*Sahih*).

²¹⁴ The story is mentioned by Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/272), as also in *Dalā'il* of Abu Nu'aym (1/81) and in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (2/80-81). Both of them reported through Ibn Ishāq. However, Ibn Sa'd (1/160) traced it through Wāqidi. This story gained strength because of conjunctive reports and can be used for scholarly purposes. For, Bukhāri and Muslim pointed out in their *Sahih* that some of the Jews of Banu Qurayzah joined the Prophet ﷺ and he gave them amnesty, and they converted to Islam. See: *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/203/H. 4028 and *Muslim* (3/1388/H. 1766), as well as *Sunan* of Abu Dāwud (2/140-141) and Abu 'Awānah in his *Musnad* (4/163). See Sindi's treatise: *Marwiyyātu Tārikhi Yahudil-Madinah*, pp. 273, 280-281.

awaited. Salmān had left his lands in search of Truth. He was taken prisoner and brought to Madinah.²¹⁵ The story of Waraqah bin Nawfal and Zayd bin 'Amr bin Nufayl is also well-known. They had left Makkah looking for the true religion until they met a monk in Mosul. He told Zayd that the person he was searching for was likely to appear in the lands around.²¹⁶

These prophecies are proof that the Prophet's advent was awaited. It were the attributes of the Prophet ﷺ that Salmān Fārisi had learnt from them that led him to Islam.

Trustworthy reports say that when Allāh (ﷻ) wished Zayd bin Su'nah, the Jewish scholar, to believe, he said, "None of the signs of the prophethood are left but I recognize them in Muhammad's face when I look up at him, except for two of them that I have not yet seen. One, his quality of clemency getting the better of his misdemeanour, and two, misdemeanor against him should only increase his attribute of clemency." So he interacted with the Prophet ﷺ to assure himself of the presence of these two qualities.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ See the whole story by Ibn Ishāq who traced it with a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (1/273-282). Bukhāri on the other hand has mentioned how the Prophet ﷺ directed Salmān to free himself through a contract—*Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (9/280/The Book of *Buyu'*). Nevertheless, it is a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report. But more than one has reported through Ibn Ishāq. See the footnote of *Ibn Hishām* (1/282), and Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (9/280). Ibn Hajar said at that point: "It has been reported by Ibn Hibbān and Hākim in their *Sahih* through a different chain, tracing it through Zayd bin Suhān, through Salmān reported something similar. It was also reported by Abu Ahmad, Abu Y'ala, and Hākim as a *Hadith* of Buraydah of similar meaning."

²¹⁶ The whole story is reported by Hākim in his *Mustadrak* (3/439) and mentioned that it is *Sahih*. Also in Abu Dāwud Tayālisi: *Tartibul-Banna'* (2/161) with a chain that is termed as *Hasan li Ghayrihi*. Thus it supports Ibn Sa'd (1/162). See it in *Dalā'il* of Bayhaqi (2/124-126). As regards Zayd's journey to Shām, see *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/300/H. 3827).

²¹⁷ See it in full in *Sirat* by Dhahabi, pp. 91-93. The two verifiers said while tracing this *Hadith*: "Ibn Hibbān reported it in his *Sahihuz-Zawa'id Ibn Hibbān*, p. 516, Tabarāni and Hākim (3/604) who ruled that the chain of this *Hadith* is Sound (*Sahih*) that the *Shaykhayn* (Bukhāri and Muslim) did not report. It is in fact a bright report. Haythami in his *Majma'* (8/240) said: "The reporters of Tabarāni were trustworthy ones." Ibn Hajar said in

We also have the report of 'Āmir bin Rabi'ah 'Adawi. He was on the same religion as that of Zayd bin 'Amr bin Nufayl who used to say that he was waiting for the sons of Ismā'il to produce a Prophet named Ahmad by the children of 'Abdul-Muttalib. He didn't think he was going to see him. He used to talk to his people about the signs that he had learnt from the People of the Book.²¹⁸

Qus bin Sā'idah 'Iyādi used to say, "Qus swears over something which involves no sin. Allāh has no religion on earth dearer to Him than the religion whose advent is close. Good news then to him who found it and embraced it. And woe unto him who found it but did not embrace it."²¹⁹

The commentators of the Qur'ān have said in reference to the Verse:

﴿وَلَمَّا جَاءَهُمْ كِتَابٌ مِّنْ عِندِ اللَّهِ مُصَدِّقٌ لِّمَا مَعَهُمْ وَكَانُوا مِن قَبْلُ يَسْتَفْتِحُونَ عَلَى الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا فَلَمَّا جَاءَهُمْ مَا عَرَفُوا كَفَرُوا بِهِ فَلَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَى الْكَافِرِينَ﴾

Al-Isābah (1/548): "The narrators of chain were trustworthy. Walid bin Muslim asserted the narration. Its dependence is on Muhammad bin Abu Sirri, who has been identified as Muhammad bin Mutawakkil, and who has been treated as trustworthy by Ibn Ma'in while Abu Hātim declared weak."

²¹⁸ See the story in *Al-Fath* (14/297/H. 2826) and *Ibn Sa'd* (1/161), and said the two redactors of *Dalā'il* of Abu Nu'aym (1/100) regarding the chain of Ibn Hajar: "It appears that the chain cited by him is acceptable because he placed a condition at the introduction of the book *Al-Fath* that he will not mention a *Hadith* unless there was enough proof of its authenticity or of its being *Hasan*. (*Hadyus-Sāri*, 1/16), and Suyuti: *Al-Khasā'is* (1/61).

²¹⁹ See the story in *Dalā'il* of Abu Nu'aym (1/104-105) and what the two verifiers said while reporting the story: "Suyuti said in his book *Al-Khasā'is* (and I found the story in the narration of Ibn Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās and reported by Imam Muhammad bin Dāwud Zāhiri in his book *Az-Zuhrah*)... he said there, "We were reported..." and mentioned the *Hadith*. Then he added, "It is one of the best of narrations." It is understandable from their verification of the report that it is of *Hasan* chain. See it also in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (1/101-104) although its attribution has been questioned. See what we said about *Al-Hunafa'* in the foreword to this book in our study of Qus bin Sā'idah.

"When a Book came to them acknowledging that which is with them (of the Scriptures) – although they used to seek victory²²⁰ over the disbelievers, but, when that came which they were able to recognize, they disbelieved. So Allāh's curse be on the disbelievers,"²²¹

that it was revealed in reference to the Jews. They were locked in struggle with the Aws and Khazraj tribes. When the two tribes defeated them in a battle, they would say: "The time of the Last Messenger's appearance is close. We shall fight against you along with him and slaughter you the way 'Ād and Iram were slaughtered." Nevertheless, when the Prophet ﷺ appeared, Aws and Khazraj believed in him but the Jews refused.²²²

Abu Sufyān's encounter with Heraclius and the long conversation that took place between them points to the same truth; especially Heraclius' words to Abu Sufyān: "If what you say is true then, surely, he will one day occupy the land under my feet."²²³

Hadith literature also confirms that it was written in the previous Scriptures that Muhammad ﷺ was designated to be a Prophet from very early times. Imam Ahmad²²⁴ and Tirmidhi²²⁵ have a report to this effect. It says, "I was a Prophet while Adam was still between body and soul." Ahmad²²⁶ has a *Hadith* (tradition)

²²⁰ They used to seek Allāh's help by him for victory upon Arab polytheists.

²²¹ Surat Al-Baqarah: 89.

²²² Ibn Ishāq with a chain that carries some unknown elements – *Ibn Hishām* (1/70), but it gets stronger through other reports. And of those that can be stated in support is one narrated by Salamah bin Salamah in connection with the story of Bani 'Abdul-Ashhal Jews. It is graded as *Hasan li Dhātihi*. See *Marwīyyātu Tārīki' Yahudil-Madinah*, p. 49, and *Tafsir At-Tabari* verified by Ahmad Shākir (2/333).

²²³ See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/71/H. 2941) *Muslim* (3/1395/H. 1773).

²²⁴ *Al-Musnad* (4/59, 66; 5/379) and see its different chains of narrations.

²²⁵ *Sunan* (9/237/H. 3613) of Tirmidhi who said: "This *Hadith* is Good, Sound and Unfamiliar (*Hasan, Sahih* and *Gharib*) as coming down from Abu Hurayrah. Albāni also declared it *Sahih*. See *Sahihut-Tirmidhi* (3/189/H. 2870).

²²⁶ *Al-Musnad* (4/128). It has been discussed earlier when speaking of the signs of prophethood that accompanied his birth.

of Irbād bin Sāriyah which says, "(I was a Prophet although) Adam was still in his dust." Abu Nu'aym²²⁷ has another report which says, "I was the first Prophet in creation but the last to be raised."

Wisdom

1. In short, the Jewish and Christian scholars knew about the likely appearance of a Prophet, before Muhammad ﷺ was commissioned. The knowledge had its basis in his qualities, and the time of his commissioning that was mentioned in Tawrah and Injil. The Qur'ān has also thrown hints of this in several places.²²⁸ Following these predictions, some of the Jews

²²⁷ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* of Bayhaqi (1/42). In his *Al-Jāmi'us-Saghir*, Suyuti mentioned that it is *Sahih*, Manāwi agreed with him.

However, the two verifiers of Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* said that Manāwi did not agree with Suyuti over its reliability. Dr. Muhammad bin Lutfi Sabbāgh said in his notes on *Maqāsidul-Hasanah* of Suyuti (H. 774) that his declaration of reliability needs a re-check. For, it has Baqiyyah in its chain about whom Ibn Mubārak said, "He is reliable, but one has to be careful to note whom he takes from and whom he narrates to." Abu Hātim said that he was not to be used for scholarly works. Abu Misfar said that Baqiyyah's narratives were not clear enough. See *Mizān* (2/128). Also, there is another narrator called Sa'eed bin Bashir whom Ibn Ma'in and others declared weak. See *Mizān* (2/128), *Maqāsid* 327, *Tamyiz* 122, *Asrār* 272, *Kashf* 2/192, *Durar* no. 337, Shawkāni's *Fawā'id* 326 and Ibn Kathir's *Tafsir* (6/383) who said, "Sa'eed bin Bashir was weak."

²²⁸ For example, Verse 146 of *Surat Al-Baqarah*: "Those to whom We gave the Scripture (Jews and Christians) recognize him as they recognize their sons. But verily, a party of them conceals the truth while they know it." And Verse 20 of *Surat Al-An'am*: "Those to whom We have given the Scripture (Jews and Christians) recognize him as they recognize their own sons. Those who destroyed themselves will not believe." And Verse 6 of *Surat As-Saff*: "And remember when 'Isā (Jesus) son of Maryam (Mary) said, 'O Children of Israel! I am the Messenger unto you, confirming the Tawrah (Torah) which came before me, and giving glad tidings of a Messenger to come after me, whose name shall be Ahmad.'" And Verse 157 of *Surat Al-A'raf*: "Those who follow the Messenger, the Prophet who can neither read nor write (i.e., Muhammad about) whom they find written in the Torah and the Gospel." And Verse 89 of *Surat Al-Baqarah*: "And when there came to them (the Jews), a Book (this Qur'ān) from Allāh confirming what

embraced Islam. 'Abdullah bin Sallam was the first of them. Some Christians also embraced Islam, Najāshi preceding everyone. What prevented some others from accepting Islam were material or political reasons. Huyay bin Akhtab, Heraclius and the Egyptian Bishop are examples.

2. What we have earlier written while discussing the Prophet's journey to Shām might once again be recalled here.

Reclusion in the Hira' Cave

The Prophet ﷺ used to seek reclusion in the Hira' cave seeking closeness with Allāh (ﷻ). That was made dear to him, although after the commissioning he didn't order anyone to follow his example. He used to frequently spend several days and nights: until the revelation²²⁹ came to him. He was then forty.²³⁰

He stayed in Hira' a month or so every year. As Ibn Ishāq²³¹ reports, the Quraysh also practiced this ascetic seclusion in pre-Islamic times. During those days he also fed poor travelers passing by his temporary hermitage. And, after he had completed the one month period, the first thing he did before going home was to pay homage to Ka'bah.²³²

Scholars have differed amongst themselves over the devotions: were they following a religion or not? If yes, what religion? Some have said that they were in accordance with Nuh's religion. Others said they originated in Ibrāhimic practices. This seems to be the

is with them (the Torah)."

²²⁹ See this meaning in 'Āishah's *Hadith* in *Al-Bukhārī* in the Book dealing with the commencement of the Divine Revelation, the Book of the Stories of the Prophet, the Book of Interpretation of Dreams, and others as examples. *Al-Bukhari/Al-Fath* (26/204/H. 6982).

²³⁰ From a *Hadith* reported by *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/83/H. 3902).

²³¹ See the report in Ibn Hishām's *Sirat* (1/298) — a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain. In it is the evidence that worship of one God was familiar in Makkah.

²³² This was reported in a *Hadith* of Ibn Ishāq mentioned above through a *Hasan* chain.

correct opinion. The fundamental principles and practices as sanctioned by the religion of Musa and 'Isā (عليه السلام) have also been named. It is also said that the Prophet (ﷺ) put to devotional practice anything that he knew had a religious source. That said, this is not the place to discuss this issue in detail.²³³

Signs before the Prophethood

'Āishah (رضي الله عنها) said, "The first thing that the Prophet (ﷺ) experienced was true dreams. He didn't see a dream but it turned out as true as the dawn. Next, Allāh endeared seclusion to him. He began to go to Hira' for days together spending time in devotions. He carried provision when he went. When it was over, he returned to Khadijah and then, once again went back refurnished, until the revelation came while he was in Hira'."²³⁴

It is also reported that he said, "I know the rock in Makkah that used to greet me. I know it very well."²³⁵

It is reported too that on one occasion when he was in one of the valleys of Makkah two angels came down to him. One of them said to the other, "Weigh him against another man." So he weighed him. Muhammad outweighed him. They kept on weighing him until he proved to be heavier than a thousand men. At that, the other angel said, "If you weighed him against his followers, he will outweigh them all. Anyway, cut open his breast." The angel opened it and removed from it *Shaytān's* share. He also removed a clot of blood and threw it away. Then one of them told the other, "Wash the inner parts with water, the way you wash a basin." The other complied. Then he asked for *Sakinah* to be brought forth. His heart was returned. The other commanded, "Stitch his breast." He did it. Finally, they embossed the mark "Seal of Prophets" between his

²³³ Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/7).

²³⁴ See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (26/197-200/H. 6982), *Muslim* (1/139-140/H. 160), and others. The version here is Muslim's.

²³⁵ *Muslim* (4/1782/H. 2277), *At-Tirmidhi; Sahihut-Tirmidhi* by Albāni (3/192/no. 2865)

shoulders. That done, they left. All this, while the Prophet (ﷺ) was watching their actions.²³⁶

It is also reported that once he left Khadijah (رضي الله عنها). When he returned, he told her that his breast had been opened, washed, cleansed and made to return to what it was before. She remarked, "This by God sounds good. So be of good cheer."²³⁷

The Prophet (ﷺ) also told Khadijah (رضي الله عنها), "I see some light in the heavens and hear some sounds. I am afraid I'll go crazy." She assured him, "Allāh will not do that to you, O 'Abdullah's son." Then she took him to Waraqah bin Nawfal and told him about the vision. He said, "If he is truthful then this is the same angel that had come to Musa. If he is given prophethood in my lifetime, I'll help him and believe in him."²³⁸

Lessons

1. The signs and miracles that the Prophet (ﷺ) experienced show that he was different from others of the devotional kind—the Hanafites—that were his contemporaries; they also show that Allāh (ﷻ) was to choose him for prophethood.
2. They were to establish that true dreams are forty-sixth of prophethood. We know that the total period of revelation was 23 years, of which first six months constituted of true dreams.

²³⁶ From a narration of Ibn 'Asākir. Ibn Kathir quoted from into his *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (2/299) also from a *Hadith* of Abu Dharr (رضي الله عنه). Reported by Bazzār as in *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* by Haythami (8/255). It has a weak chain but which gathers strength from the report of Zuhri that follows.

²³⁷ Reported by Bayhaqi in *Ad-Dalā'il* (2/142, 145-146) through two chains. First through Zuhri. This is a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report. Another came through Ibn Lahiy'ah, he from Abul-Aswad and he through 'Urwah. This too is a *Mursal* report. Thus both the chains are weak. Yet the two have two other reports strengthening them: one of Ibn 'Asākir's *Hadith* and the other of Bazzār. See Muhammad Suyāni: *Al-Qasimiyah: Dirāsatur Naqadiyatun li-Nusis Siratin-Nabawiyyah*, (pp. 187-189).

²³⁸ Reported by Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/720) through a Good (*Hasan*) chain from a *Hadith* of 'Ammār bin Abu 'Ammār.

3. It is desirable for a Muslim to seek seclusion from the people when moral corruptions become rampant in the world around him. This might help him think freely, without normal constraints to the thoughts. Permanent seclusion from the people, that some people practice in our times, does not conform with the *Sunnah*. It is not proven of the Prophet ﷺ that he practiced seclusion of this sort. In fact, he said, "The believer who interacts with the people bearing with patience the inconveniences that they cause is better than him who does not interact with them and does not bear with patience."²³⁹ He also said, "A believer is amiable, easy to socialize. There is no good in a man who is not amiable and who cannot be accessed. The best of people is the one who is most beneficial to the people."²⁴⁰

The First Revelation

The angel who brought revelation on a Monday, on the 21st of Ramadān,²⁴¹ at the age of forty, in the Hira' Cave, took the Prophet ﷺ by surprise. He bid him, "Read." It is reported that the Prophet

²³⁹ Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (7/94/Shākir). Shākir said: "Its chain is *Sahih*."

Albāni: *Sahih Sunan Ibn Mājah* (2/307/H. 4032) and added: *Sāhīh*, and drew attention to its cataloguing in *Mishkāt* no. 5087, and (his own) *Silsilatul-Ahādithus-Sahihah*, no. 939.

Albāni: *Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi* (2/307) — Chapters describing the Day of Judgment/H. 2638). Albāni added: *Sahih*. Bukhāri also recorded it in *Al-Adabul-Mufrad*, no. 58.

²⁴⁰ Suyuti: *Al-Jāmi'us-Saghir* (2/184) and said: Reported by Dārāqutni, and it is *Sahih*.

²⁴¹ This has been clearly declared in a Verse, "The month of Ramadān in which was revealed the Qur'ān," *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 185. And in a Hadith in Muslim (2/819/H. 1162.) in which Monday is specified. See: *Ibn Hishām* (1/304) where Ibn Ishāq said it was in Ramadān and cited Qur'ānic Verses apart from the above, and Ahmad's *Musnad* (5/297, 299) and *As-Sunan Al-Kubra* by Bayhaqi (4/293). The scholars differed over a specific date; while Mubārkpuri (in his *Ar-Rahiq*), through his footnote no. 2, p. 68, gave preference to the 21st something only he did, so far as my knowledge goes.

ﷺ said, "I said, 'I do not know how to read.' He held me and pressed me hard against himself. Then, letting me go he repeated, 'Read.' I gave him the same answer, 'I don't know how to read.' He seized me once again and pressed me hard against himself. And then, letting me go he repeated his behest. I told him once again that I couldn't. So he seized me a third time and pressed me hard against himself. Then letting me go he said, 'Read by the name of your Lord' until the words, 'what he did not know.'" 'Āishah ؓ, the narrator said, "He returned to Khadijah much disturbed. He said, 'Cover me up.' They covered him with a blanket until he recovered. He said, 'Khadijah, I don't know what's happening.' Then he repeated all that had happened concluding, 'I'm afraid of myself.' Khadijah said, 'By God, He will not waste you. You join the kin, speak the truth, unburden others, and help in virtuous matters.' Later, she took him to Waraqah bin Nawfal bin Asad bin 'Abdul-'Uzza, her uncle. He had turned Christian in pre-Islamic times. He was capable of writing the Scriptures in the Hebrew language. He was pretty old, and blind. She told him, 'Listen to what your nephew has to say.' He asked, 'My dear nephew. What is it that you see?' He narrated the whole story. When he was through, Waraqah said, 'This is the same angel who had come down to Musa. May that I am alive the day they will exile you.' The Prophet exclaimed, 'Will they exile me?' Waraqah replied, 'Yes. No one ever brought what you have brought but he was antagonized and persecuted. If I am alive that day, I shall help you and strengthen you.' But it was not long before Waraqah died."²⁴²

With regard to the report by Ibn Ishāq²⁴³ about how the revelation started, in which he said, "Jibril came to me while I was sleeping. He brought me a book in a brocaded silken cloth, telling me to read." This report seems to contradict the one in the *Sahihayn* narrated by 'Āishah ؓ. That report asserts that he was awake when Jibril came and that true dreams had preceded it. Suhayli²⁴⁴ has,

²⁴² Al-Bukhāri/*Al-Fath* (26/204/H. 6982), and Muslim (1/139-140/H. 160); Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (18/47).

²⁴³ *Sirat Ibn Hishām*, (1/299-302) through a Good (*Hasan*) chain.

²⁴⁴ *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (1/269).

therefore, said, "It is possible to reconcile the two in the following manner: Jibril first came when the Prophet ﷺ was asleep, before coming to him when he was awake, in order to make him get used to it and make it easy for him to bear it. prophethood after all is a big affair, whose burden is heavy and man is created weak."

Ibn Kathir seconds this opinion adding his own remark, "The account of the 'Prophet's Battles' as written by Musa bin 'Uqbah and as narrated by Zuhri has in fact a statement to the effect that the Prophet ﷺ first saw Jibril in a dream and subsequently while awake." He wrote in another place,²⁴⁵ "It is also possible that he experienced the night vision after he had seen him while awake. It could have also happened later, after some time."

Lessons

1. Khadijah's attitude toward the first revelation speaks of her intelligence and is proof of her uncorrupted nature, and excellent moral qualities.
2. From the manner of Waraqah's advice, his religious knowledge stands confirmed as of the right kind.
3. The Prophet's vision of Jibril with his eyes is a proof that revelation is not the name of an internal inspiration or something of that order. It is rather an act of giving and receiving, which has external physical manifestations. It has nothing to do with the internal condition. The angel's act of pressing the Prophet ﷺ against himself and then the behest that he read, demonstrate that it was an external affair which disproves any idea that it was an imagination.
4. The Prophet's expression of fear at the receipt of the first revelation contains the proof that he wasn't expecting to be

²⁴⁵ *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/504), the narration of Ibn 'Uqbah has been quoted by Ibn Kathir in (another place in) *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/14-15).

made a Prophet and commissioned to confront the world. This should also lead to believe that the revelation had not come to confirm an already existing inner feeling. Rather, he was taken by complete surprise. It rules out the allegation made by the Orientalists that it was something building up in his heart and mind, which gradually led to a firm internal conviction that he was raised as a Prophet.

5. It was in Allāh's power to send peace to Muhammad's heart and give him assurance that the person he had encountered was none other than Jibril, an angel from Him. But, it seems Allāh (ﷻ) willed that there should be a line drawn to distinguish between the two personalities of Muhammad: one before and the other after he was commissioned as a Messenger. It was also to impress that the faith and beliefs that he projected later, had not been in generation in his mind before he was thus selected and that he had never imagined that one day he would be inviting other people to them.
6. In the inspiration that triggered in Khadijah's heart, to take the Prophet to Waraqah, there was another confirmation that this new phenomenon that the Prophet ﷺ had experienced was the very revelation that countless Prophets had received earlier. It also helped remove from him the doubts that weighed heavily on him.²⁴⁶
7. If the revelation was the making of the inner self, he would not have been censured over some of his minor and almost inconsequential failures.
8. Had the revelation been his own making, he would not have received such Verses as:

﴿فَإِنْ كُنْتَ فِي شَكٍّ مِمَّا أَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ فَسْأَلِ الَّذِينَ يَقْرَأُونَ الْكِتَابَ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ
لَقَدْ جَاءَكَ الْحَقُّ مِنْ رَبِّكَ فَلَا تَكُونَنَّ مِنَ الْمُمْتَرِينَ﴾

²⁴⁶ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 68-70.

"Therefore, if you are in any doubt over what We have revealed unto you then inquire with those who recite the Scripture of earlier times. Surely, the truth has come to you from your Lord, therefore, be not of those who bear doubt."²⁴⁷

9. If revelation had been the work of his own imagination, the Prophet ﷺ would not have waited for long or short periods to answer questions that were asked and which he could not immediately answer. Nor would he have suffered in consequence of certain events, such as the event of slander against his wife, when he suffered for a whole month, waiting for the revelation to come down.
10. Allāh's wisdom required that His Messenger ﷺ should be unlettered, who knew neither how to read nor how to write. This was to remove any lingering doubt about the Qur'ān. Allāh said:

﴿وَمَا كُنْتَ تَتْلُوا مِنْ قَبْلِهِ مِنْ كِتَابٍ وَلَا تَخُطُّهُ بِيَمِينِكَ إِذَا لَأَزْتَابَ الْمُبْطِلُونَ﴾

"And before this, you hadn't read a book nor wrote a line with your right hand that the doubters should doubt."²⁴⁸

The Period of Cessation and Resumption of Revelation

After the first revelation Jibril held back for a while. There are several opinions about the period involved.²⁴⁹ It is generally said that Bayhaqi's opinion of six months' cessation sounds weighty. It is also said that nearest to being correct is the opinion of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ

²⁴⁷ Surat Yunus: 94. Like the French Caradovuo. See: *Hādirul-'Ālamil-Islāmi* (1/39).

²⁴⁸ Surat Al-'Ankabut: 48.

²⁴⁹ *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 67. He did not mention its position in two of Bayhaqi's books: *Ad-Dalā'il* or *As-Sunan Al-Kubra*, or others. What we find in *As-Sunan Al-Kubra*, (9/6) is that the revelation discontinued. That the period was six months was not stated.

that it lasted forty days.²⁵⁰ In fact, some have said that it wasn't more than a few days.

In any case, the Prophet ﷺ was disturbed by the cessation, to the extent that some biographers thought he wished to throw himself down a cliff.²⁵¹ Albāni²⁵² has pointed out that this is not a *Hadith*, rather a statement of Zuhri. It is against the character and personality that Messengers are endowed with.

Nevertheless, after a short or long gap, the revelation came to him a second time. The Prophet ﷺ himself said about it, "While I was walking I heard a voice from the heavens. I raised my eyes and lo, the angel that had come to me in Hira' the first time, was sitting on a chair which was as large as to cover the space between the earth and the heaven. I was over-awed. I returned and told them, 'Cover me, cover me.' Allāh revealed

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الْمَدِّيرُ ۝١ قُمْ فَأَنْذِرْ ۝٢ إِلَىٰ قَوْلِهِ: ﴿وَالرُّجْزَ فَاهْجُرْ﴾

"O you who covers himself up. Rise and warn..." until, 'And shun the abominable.'"

Thereafter revelation came down at a regular pace."²⁵³

Wisdom in the Cessation

1. It was so arranged that following the confirmation that he had been chosen a Messenger, the Prophet's thirst for revelation should be aroused.

²⁵⁰ See Zurqāni's *Sharhul-Mawāhibil-Ladunniyyah* (1/236). He mentioned all the statements that were issued on this issue. However, he did not mention a strong basis for the opinions of the scholars for one to argue with, see Shāmi: *Min Ma'ānis-Sirah*, p. 29.

²⁵¹ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (26/204-205/H. 6982).

²⁵² *Difa' 'Anil-Hadithin-Nabawi was-Sirah*, p. 40.

²⁵³ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (18/325/The Book of *Tafsir*/H. 4925). *Muslim* (1/143/H. 161). Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/306), and (3/392) or see: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (18/48-49).

2. In the cessation and then resumption of the revelation is the proof, as we wrote earlier, that it was not the Prophet's own making.

Kinds of Revelation

Ibn Qaiyim²⁵⁴ wrote: Of the many kinds of revelations, Allāh (ﷻ) chose a few for His Prophet. First, is true dreams. This was the method adopted in the beginning as 'Āishah's report demonstrates. She said, "The first thing that happened to the Prophet ﷺ was that he began to experience true dreams. So that, he didn't see a dream but it proved as true as the dawn."²⁵⁵

Second, what his heart received directly from the angel without being able to see him. The Prophet ﷺ said, "The *Ruhul-Qudus* (Jibril) has revealed unto my heart that no soul will die before receiving its full share of providence. Therefore, adopt honorable means in obtaining your share."²⁵⁶

Third, the angel came in human form and spoke to him until he had heard and understood the revelation. In such situations the

²⁵⁴ *Zādul-Ma'ād* (1/78-80). Also see Baghawi's *Sharhus-Sunnah* (13/321) and *Muhammad Rasulullāh* by 'Urjun (1/278).

²⁵⁵ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (26/204-207/H. 6982), *Muslim* (1/139/H. 160), Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (18/47).

²⁵⁶ This *Hadith* gathers strength through others of similar kind. Albāni has reported it in his footnotes in *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazālī, p. 96. He said: "This is a *Sahih Hadith* that has come through different sources: The first one by Ibn Mas'ud, reported by Hākim (2/4) and the second through Ibn Abu Umāmah, recorded by Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir* and Abu Nu'aym in *Hilyatul-Awliya'* (10/26, 27). and a third through Hudhaifah recorded by Bazzār as in *At-Targhib*. (3/7) and Haythami in *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (4/71). These variety of sources strengthen each other, which therefore and Allāh knows best—led Ibn Qaiyim to attribute it, in his *Zādul-Ma'ād*, to the Prophet ﷺ. And it was also traced by the two verifiers of *Zād*: Shu'ayb and 'Abdul-Qādir Arna'ut (1/79). They agree with Albāni in treating this report because of others. They too mentioned the supporting reports that Albāni mentioned adding their own, viz., the *Hadith* of Jābir ﷺ recorded in *Ibn Mājah* (2144) and *Ibn Hibbān* (1084 and 1085).

Companions also saw the angel as a human.²⁵⁷

Fourth, sometimes revelation came in the manner of ringing bells. This was the hardest of the several kinds. In this situation the angel enwrapped him completely. His forehead sweated on a severely cold day and, if he was riding a beast, it collapsed to the ground.²⁵⁸

Fifth, he saw the angel in the very form and shape in which he has been created. The angel then revealed what Allāh (ﷻ) desired to be revealed. This happened to him twice as stated in *Surat An-Najm*.²⁵⁹

Sixth, what Allāh revealed to him when he was in the heavens during his night journey and ascension (*Al-Isra' wal-Mi'rāj*), commanding him five daily prayers and a few other things.

Seventh, Allāh speaking out to him directly, without the angel's mediation, as He spoke to Musa, the son of 'Imrān. The Qur'ān stated:

﴿وَكَلَّمَ اللَّهُ مُوسَى تَكْلِيمًا﴾

"And Allāh spoke to Musa, directly."²⁶⁰

Another evidence comes from the Prophet ﷺ himself when he spoke of his night journey and ascension. He said, "Then I was taken up until I reached a level from where I could hear the sound of the Pens."²⁶¹

²⁵⁷ As in a *Hadith* in which the Prophet ﷺ said to 'Umar ﷺ: "'Umar, do you know who was the questioner?" 'Umar replied: "Allāh and his Messenger know best." The Prophet ﷺ said: "That was Jibril who came to teach you your religion." See *Muslim* (1/36-37/H. 8.), The two redactors of *Zād* said that Nasa'i reported with a *Sahih* chain that Jibril used to come in the figure of Dihyah Kalbi.

²⁵⁸ Among those who recorded this *Hadith* were: *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (13/31/H. 3215), and *Muslim* (4/1816/H. 2333) and others.

²⁵⁹ *Surat Al-Anbiya'*: 7-13. See *Muslim* (1/159/H. 177).

²⁶⁰ *Surat An-Nisa'*: 164.

²⁶¹ *Muslim* (1/149/H. 163).

Stages in the Call

Ibn Qaiyim²⁶² has mentioned five stages: First, prophethood; second, warning the closest of the kin; third, warning his own people; fourth, warning those to whom no Messenger had been sent earlier, i.e., the Peninsula Arabs; and fifth, warning all those who are ever likely to receive the message—until the end of the world.

Stages of the Call during the Life of the Prophet ﷺ²⁶³

First stage: Secret calling. It lasted three years.

Second stage: Open calling: but forbidden to fight. It lasted until the emigration to Madinah.

Third stage: Open calling: allowed to fight those who initiated a fight. It lasted until the Hudaybiyah expedition.

Fourth stage: Open calling. Fighting against anyone who stood as a barrier.

Understanding the Stages

A question might be asked: Is it necessary for those engaged in the work of establishing Islam, especially in the contemporary world, that they should follow these stages with the same time schedule as happened during the life of the Prophet ﷺ? The answer is no. They are not required to follow the same stages,²⁶⁴ nor are they required to have the same time schedule. Those stages and the periods involved were determined by Allāh (ﷻ). They were not the result of human design.²⁶⁵ Any predetermination of stages in the

²⁶² Zādul-Ma'ād (1/86).

²⁶³ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 57, Mubārakpuri: *Ar-Rahiq Al-Makhtum*, p. 84.

²⁶⁴ See Zuhayr Sālim: *'Atharāt wa Saqatāt fi Kitābul-Manhajul-Haraki lis-Siratin-Nabawiyyah*, p. 29 and the following pages; and the book is a careful study of the understanding of Islamic movements from the perspective of the *Sirat*, and a successful effort of Shaykh Ghabbān in his pioneering book.

²⁶⁵ See Munir Ghabbān: *Al-Manhajul-Haraki lis-Siratin-Nabawiyyah*, p. 9. The book invites the Islamic callers for an open discussion over the formation

Islamic solutions to later day problems will not agree with the ground situation then prevalent. They should keep before them the life of the Prophet ﷺ as a role model, which contains several examples to choose from. Secrecy, or seeking help (from the outlying tribes), or emigration, are but some of the means that the Prophet ﷺ resorted to for his mission, in circumstances that were special to him. For instance, in our times we find that the democratic states of the West do not place any hurdle before the efforts to propagate Islam. Therefore, secrecy is not required to be maintained. While, on the other hand, the communist world did not permit any religious activity. In such climates it was imperative to observe secrecy. Alternatively, if the call requires that some affairs be kept open while others secret, then, that would be allowable. This can be the case with countries where the governments do not allow complete freedom to the Islamic movements.

In short, the amount of secrecy to be observed is something that should be determined by those engaged in the call in accordance with the situations prevalent.²⁶⁶

The First Phase: Secret Call

The Prophet ﷺ responded to the Divine commandments that required him to openly proclaim the message he had received. These commandments were quite unequivocal. For example,

﴿يَتَأَيَّهَا الْمُدَّثِّرُ ۝ ١ قُمْ فَأَنْذِرْ ۝ ٢ وَرَبَّكَ فَكَبِّرْ ۝ ٣ وَثِيَابَكَ فَطَهِّرْ ۝ ٤ وَالرُّجْزَ فَاهْجُرْ ۝ ٥ وَلَا تَمْنُنْ تَسْتَكْثِرُ ۝ ٦ وَلِرَبِّكَ فَاصْبِرْ﴾

of the fundamental principles for the methods to be adopted by Islamic movements.

²⁶⁶ See Zuhayr Sālim: The previous reference pp. 28-35, where he argues against Shaykh Ghabbān who maintained that the *secret phase* is necessary. It appears that Ghabbān based his discussion upon some tyrannical regimes and overlooked what is happening in most of the Western countries, eventually he was not successful when he generalized the rule. See Dr. Buti, *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 76-77.

*"O you who wraps himself in the blanket, rise and warn; your Lord exalt, your clothes keep clean, and shun the abominable. And do not give seeking increase. And be patient for your Lord."*²⁶⁷

These Verses carry the commandment to preach the mission that he was entrusted with. And, since the Verses were revealed early in Makkah, by implication they left out those outside it.

The choice of words, *"O you who wraps himself in the blanket,"* means that the time when the Prophet ﷺ could comfortably wrap himself in a blanket and leisurely pass his time with wife and children had passed. The time for struggle with all the powers of the body and material resources had dawned.

The words, *"rise and warn,"* command him to warn everyone around. The words, *"your Lord exalt,"* mean that he was to convey to the people that there was nothing greater than the Lord before whom the people should humble themselves. This is a demand of *Tawhid* on the slaves of God.

In the words, *"your clothes keep clean,"* is the message that it is necessary for the caller to outwardly and inwardly keep himself clean in order to be an example for those he is invoking to cleanliness in its fullest sense.

In the words, *"shun the abominable"* is the hint that unadulterated *Tawhid* demands that one reject purity and sacredness of everything else, so that the Creator alone might be venerated.

The words *"do not give seeking increase"* tell us that it is forbidden that any favor be done, or anything be given in the hope of getting back more than given. Another message is that the caller—who calls to a supreme set of morals—should himself be adorned with the best of moral qualities.

And, in order to achieve the above, it was necessary that the directives issued should be followed by an injunction concerning an important practical principle, viz., patience and perseverance. They are required in the face of all kinds of difficulties that the adversaries present. In fact, patience is required to deal with those also who

²⁶⁷ Surat Al-Muddaththir: 1-7.

respond positively, as well as when the caller is faced with trials and tribulations.

Accordingly, the Prophet ﷺ rose up from his bed to begin inviting, observing secrecy as Ibn Ishāq²⁶⁸ has stated. His words are, "The Prophet concealed his mission for three years until he was ordered to make an open call." The report of 'Amr bin 'Abasah ﷺ also strengthens this. He said, "I went to see the Prophet ﷺ right at the start of his mission at Makkah. He was then concealing (his mission)."²⁶⁹ The Prophet ﷺ began with the invitation to *Tawhid*, and shunning of every practice that had polytheistic leanings.

In this stage he restricted his call to those he was closely related: his wife, children, slaves, foster son, friends, and everyone about whom he was sure he would keep the affair confidential.²⁷⁰ That is why we see that the earliest of those to believe in him are:

- 1) His wife Khadijah ﷺ: She was the first to believe in him. She made his mission easy for him. Hence she was the first to receive the glad tiding of Paradise. The Prophet ﷺ said, "I was asked to give Khadijah the tiding of a palace in Paradise made of a single pearl, in which there will be no noise and where nothing unseemly will happen."²⁷¹ There are several reports that speak of the good qualities of this lady.²⁷²
- 2) His cousin 'Ali bin Abu Tālib ﷺ. He was under his care. He was 10 years old at that time.²⁷³

²⁶⁸ Ibn Hishām (1/325) without a chain.

²⁶⁹ Muslim (1/569/H. 832.)

²⁷⁰ See Ibn Hishām (1/309), report on 'Ali ﷺ becoming Muslim.

²⁷¹ Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath (14/286 and what follows H. 3822). Muslim (4/1886/H. 2433, 2435). Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain, Ibn Hishām (1/305-306) whose version is reported here; Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/26-27).

²⁷² Look for at its various locations in *Al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim* and others in the books of Virtues and Individual Good Qualities. Also see other sources of *Sirat*, e.g., Dhahabi pp. 127-129, where he indicated the sources that tell of Khadijah's early Islam.

²⁷³ Ibn Ishāq reported in his *Sirat*, p. 137, being a narration of Yunus bin Bukayr and through a *Hasan* chain which leads to the belief that 'Ali ﷺ was the first youth to get into Islam. See the report that tells of the conversation between 'Afif and 'Abbās when he came for trading. He saw

- 3) His freed-slave Zayd bin Hārithah ؓ. When his father had gone to claim him, the Prophet ﷺ gave him the choice, "If you wish you can live with me. But if you wish to go with your father, you are free to do so."²⁷⁴ Zayd chose to stay with him and was known as Zayd bin Muhammad until Allāh revealed the following Verse:

﴿ادْعُوهُمْ لِآبَائِهِمْ هُوَ أَقْسَطُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ﴾

"Call them (adopted sons) by (the names of) their fathers. That is more just with Allah."²⁷⁵

the Prophet ﷺ leaving for Ka'bah to pray there, and was joined by his wife Khadijah and his cousin 'Ali bin Abu Tālib. 'Afif said, "I wish I had believed then and there and become the second in Islam" meaning the second male. This narration of Yunus bin Bukayr is in *Dalā'il* by Bayhaqi (2/162-63). Dr. Qala'ji said when reporting this *Hadith*: "A *Sahih Hadith*, Bukhāri reported it in *At-Tārikh Al-Kabir* and Ibn Kathir in *At-Tārikh*, and Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* where he said: 'This *Hadith* has a *Sahih* chain although the *Shaykhayn* did not record it.' Dhahabi agreed to this. Tabari reported it in *At-Tārikh* and Ibn Abdul-Barr in *Al-Isti'āb*. Haythami said in the *Majma'* (9/103) that Ahmad reported it, Abu Ya'la and Tabarāni through various chains; and Ahmad's narrators are reliable." The report concerning his Islam was reported by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—Ibn Hishām (1/312-314), and by Ibn Sayyidin-Nās in 'Uyunul-Athar (1/92-93) with weak attributions. As regard the differences about his age at the time he embraced Islam, see *As-Sunan Al-Kubra* by Bayhaqi (6/206-207).

²⁷⁴ Reported by Ibn Hishām (1/315-316) in a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) form, and Tirmidhi with a slight change in the text of the *Hadith*. See: *Sahihut-Tirmidhi* by Albāni (3/231/H. 4085). Jabalah (brother of Zayd) is reported in it that it was he who went to the Prophet ﷺ seeking the release of his brother Zayd. Tirmidhi said, "This *Hadith* is Good & Unfamiliar (*Hasan-Gharib*)" Albāni also said it is *Hasan*. Hākim reported it in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/214), adding: "Its chain is *Sahih* although the two (Bukhāri and Muslim) did not trace it." Dhahabi also said that it is *Sahih*. Tabarāni reported it in *Al-Mu'jam Al-Kabir* (2/321-322). Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (9/274), "Its chain is of *Hasan* grade." Also see it traced in the footnotes of the two verifiers of *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/316). This is a popularly known report. One might look for it in the books of *Sirat*, e.g. 'Uyunul-Athar (1/94), Ibn Ishāq—Ibn Hishām (1/314), and *Siratudh-Dhahabi*, pp. 137-138.

²⁷⁵ *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 5. The narration is in *Sahih* in the *Sahih Sunanut-Tirmidhi* by Albāni (3/231) being a *Hadith* of Ibn 'Umar. Tirmidhi and Albāni said it is *Sahih*.

- 4) Abu Bakr Siddiq ؓ. He was the first of men to accept the call of Islam. The Prophet ﷺ once told 'Umar about him, "Allāh commissioned me to you. You all said, 'You are lying.' But Abu Bakr said, 'You spoke the truth.'"²⁷⁶ He also said, "I did not invite anyone to Islam but he seemed to be undecided, shaky and with second thought, except for Abu Bakr. When I spoke to him, he evinced no hesitation and no undecidedness at all."²⁷⁷ Abu Bakr himself spoke of himself when he was chosen for caliphate: "Am I not the most deserving of (this honor) than anyone else of you? Am I not the first to have believed?"²⁷⁸

Remaining within the framework of secrecy, Abu Bakr actively engaged himself in inviting his relatives, friends and acquaintances to Islam. Souls that were noble responded positively such as, 'Uthmān bin 'Affān, Zubayr bin 'Awwām, Talhah bin 'Ubaydullah, Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās, 'Abdur-Rahman bin 'Awf,²⁷⁹ 'Uthmān bin Maz'un, Abu 'Ubaydah bin Jarrāh, Abu Salamah bin 'Abdul-Asad and Arqam bin Abu Arqam.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ A *Hadith* reported in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/157/H. 3661). Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/30): "This is a textual report that he is the first to embrace Islam."

²⁷⁷ Reported by Ibn Ishāq in *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 139, with an Interrupted (*Munqari*) chain, thus it is weak as we know.

²⁷⁸ A *Hadith* recorded by Tirmidhi. See: *Sahihut-Tirmidhi* (3/201) both Tirmidhi and Albāni judged it as *Sahih*. There were many *Sahih Ahādith* that emphasize that Abu Bakr ؓ was the first to embrace Islam among men. See *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/30-32). Ibn Kathir discussed there the reports that contradict this fact. See also 'Uyunul-Athar (1/94-95), Ibn Hishām (1/316-319), *Sirat Ibn Ishāq*, pp. 139-40, *Sirat Adh-Dhahabi*, p. 138, *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* by Ibn Hanbal (1/223-231) under the title: What has been reported on Abu Bakr as the first one to embrace Islam.

Ibn Mas'ūd said: "The first to declare Islam were seven: The Messenger of Allāh, Abu Bakr..." Its chain is *Sahih* and the report will be mentioned in detail when discussing the torture of the slaves.

²⁷⁹ Up to here Ibn Ishāq mentioned them in his *Sirat*, p. 140, and in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/317-318) without a chain.

²⁸⁰ And from Ibn Maz'un to Arqam, it was Ibn Kathir who stated their names in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/33) to the effect that they embraced Islam through Abu Bakr: an addition in report over those of others.

Because of Abu Bakr's contacts, Islam began to spread quietly but firmly in Makkah²⁸¹ and outside it. Many Qurayshis also embraced Islam. The following non-Qurayshis also embraced Islam because of Abu Bakr's influence: Bilāl bin Rabah, Suhayb bin Sinān, 'Ammār bin Yāsir, his father Yāsir and mother Sumaiyah bint Khayyāt.²⁸²

Within a short time the number of those who embraced Islam from among the Quraysh rose up to forty. That's Ibn Hishām's²⁸³ figure. If we go by that of Ya'mari,²⁸⁴ it was fifty.

(v) Waraqah bin Nawfal. He is also counted among those who embraced Islam. This is supported by the Prophet's words: "When I saw him (during the *Mi'rāj* journey), he was in white attire. If he was of the people of Fire, he wouldn't be in white clothes."²⁸⁵ According to another report, "I saw him in the center of Paradise clad in white attire."²⁸⁶ He had silken clothes on him." He also said, "Don't speak

²⁸¹ In the report concerning the Islam of 'Amr bin 'Abasah in *Sahih Muslim*—as mentioned earlier—is a proof of the extension of Islam outside Makkah. In the said report the Prophet ﷺ said to him: "...Catch up with your people, and if you are told that I have left (Makkah), then follow me."

²⁸² Their mention has been made in a Discontinued (*Mauquf*) *Hadith* by Mujāhid and its chain is *Sahih*, see it in *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* by Ibn Hanbal (1/231). It was reported by Ibn Sa'd through Mujāhid (3/233), and Ibn Hanbal in *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (1/181) by Ibn Mas'ūd with Good & Connected (*Hasan-Muttasil*) chain. It was also reported by the verifier. See the *Musnad* (1/404), Bayhaqi in the *Dalā'il* (2/170) and Hākim in the *Mustadrak* (3/84) who said there, "Of a *Sahih* chain that the two did not trace." Dhahabi agreed with him. See as well as *Ibn Hishām* (1/324) and *Ibn Sa'd* (3/226). Tabarāni reported it in *Al-Mu'jam Al-Kabir* (8/34) through Anas (8/131) as well as by Abu Umamah. Haythami said in the *Majma'* (9/305), "Its narrators are reliable except for 'Umārah bin Zādhān who too was trustworthy. However there is difference in opinion over him and so its chain is *Hasan*."

²⁸³ *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/318-324).

²⁸⁴ *Uyunul-Athar* (1/93-98). Also see *Jawāmi'us-Sirah* by Ibn Hazm, pp. 44-51.

²⁸⁵ Recorded by Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/174). Sā'āti said its chain to be *Hasan*.

²⁸⁶ Ibn Kathir reported it in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/10) through Abu Ya'la and said that it is *Hasan*.

ill of Waraqah. I saw that he had for himself one or two sections of Paradise."²⁸⁷ On another occasion he said, "He will be raised as a nation by himself."²⁸⁸

If we are to look carefully at the names of those who embraced Islam right at its start, we find that they were the best men of their people. They were not, as some Muslim and non-Muslim writers have said, the lowest of the low, the slaves or others who were looking for a relief from oppression.

Their names came to be remembered better because, firstly, it was only the weakest of Muslims (such as the slaves), who bore the brunt of persecution in the early days of Islam. Secondly, they were persecuted in the open. So, everyone knew about them. In contrast, others escaped tortures by dint of tribal contacts. Moreover, whoever of the free men received persecution, received it from his own tribesmen and so, their persecution did not receive publicity.²⁸⁹

We have several reports that confirm this. One in Ahmad²⁹⁰ has Ibn Mas'ūd saying, "The first of those who declared their Islam were seven: The Prophet, Abu Bakr, 'Ammār, his mother Sumaiyah, Suhayb, Bilāl and Miqdād."²⁹¹ As for the Prophet ﷺ, he was rescued by his uncle. Abu Bakr ﷺ, escaped on account of his tribe. But for the rest, the pagans clad them in steel and made them stand in the sun."

²⁸⁷ Reported by Bazzār through 'Āishah ؓ, as mentioned by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (10/3). The latter said about its chain to be Perfect (*Jaiyid*). Hākim reported it in *Al-Mustadrak* (2/409) as a narration of 'Āishah ؓ and said that the *Hadith* is *Sahih*. Dhahabi agreed with it. The *Hadith* is therefore, *Hasan* because of these several chains. See also Albāni in the footnotes of *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazālī, p. 100.

²⁸⁸ Reported by Tabarāni in the *Majma'* (9/416) about which Haythami said: "Its transmitters are narrators of *Sahih Hadith*."

²⁸⁹ See Shāmi: *Min Ma'inis-Sirah*, pp. 35-36.

²⁹⁰ This has been mentioned before where we stated that Wasiullah considered the *Hadith* as *Hasan* — *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (1/182).

²⁹¹ Ibn Sa'd (3/233) a Disconnected (*Mursal*) *Hadith* by Mujāhid, he mentioned Khabbāb instead of Miqdād in the *Hadith* reported by Ahmad.

Ibn Ishāq²⁹² reports that the Quraysh took to persecuting those who had embraced Islam and every tribe fell upon those of its members who had embraced Islam, torturing and persecuting them.²⁹³ He also mentions that members of the Banu Makhzum tribe went up to Hishām bin Walid when his brother Walid became a Muslim. They asked him his permission to do whatever was necessary to bring him back and those others of the Banu Makhzum that had embraced Islam, to the old religion. Salamah bin Hishām and 'Ayyāsh bin Abu Rabi'ah were some of those who had become Muslims. Hishām allowed them to use whatever means they saw fit without going to the extent of killing them.

Ibn Ishāq²⁹⁴ also narrates the story of 'Umar bin Khattāb's Hijrah-journey. He was accompanied by 'Ayyāsh. The Quraysh prevented a third person, Hishām bin 'Āsi bin Wā'il Sahmi from accompanying the two and then, later brought back 'Ayyāsh by trickery, bound in chains.

Before he himself became a Muslim, 'Umar bin Khattāb used to torment Sa'eed bin Zayd, a cousin of his in his effort to revert him to pagandom.²⁹⁵

The Prophet ﷺ was unable to do anything to prevent the persecution. In fact, even after he was in Madinah, he could do no more than resort to supplications for those who were left at Makkah. "He used to supplicate, "O Allāh, rescue Walid bin Walid, Salamah bin Hishām, 'Ayyāsh bin Abu Rabi'ah and the other weak ones in Makkah. O Allāh, tighten Your grip on the Mudar (tribe) sending them starvation like the starvation of the times of Yusuf.""²⁹⁶

²⁹² *As-Sirat* 148, and *Ibn Hishām* from a narration of Ibn Ishāq without a chain (1/392) hence it is very weak.

²⁹³ *Ibn Hishām* (1/396) from a narration of Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain.

²⁹⁴ *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/129) reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain. Reported by Bazzār, through trustworthy narrators as mentioned by Haythami in the *Majma'* (6/62), Bayhaqi in *Ad-Dalā'il* (2/461-462) and *As-Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/13-14) through Ibn Ishāq.

²⁹⁵ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/19/H. 3862).

²⁹⁶ Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (12/250/H. 7259). Shākir remarked its chain to be *Sahih*. *Ibn Sa'd* (4/1/96) has the same chain Muslim reported it (1/467, H. 675) as well as Bukhārī through different chains including (2/242) and (8/170).

Ibn Hajar²⁹⁷ has explained the words "the weak ones" and the "honored ones" that were used during the conversation between Heraclius and Abu Sufyān in the following manner. He explained the former ("the weak ones") as meaning the Prophet's early followers. They were so called because they were humble people (*Du'afa'*) as against the arrogant ones (*Aqwiya'*) who stood against the call of truth out of hatred and jealousy. Thus, and in contrast, the term "honored ones" was used in the sense of those who acted arrogantly.

It might also be noted that out of the first 67 that embraced Islam in the beginning, only 13 belonged to the category of the poor, the slaves, and those who did not have tribal support because they were foreigners in the land. In other words they were just about one-fifth of the total. Therefore, it is perhaps not right to say that the great majority of the early Muslims, the so-called weak ones, were of the lower strata of the society.²⁹⁸

Lessons

1. Allāh's injunction to the Prophet ﷺ to observe secrecy in the beginning was to impress on all future callers that whatever means that can be adopted for the call, might be adopted. The caller should use his own mind and experience to adopt the means that will help him achieve his objectives, except that for the outcome and consequences, total trust may not be placed in those means alone—in place of trust in Allāh. The caller's wholehearted reliance on them can weaken his faith in his Lord.

We can also deduce from the above that the strategy that the Prophet ﷺ adopted in this stage was not following a religious directive received from above. In choosing to do what he did, he did not act in the capacity of a Prophet. He simply acted in the capacity of one who is at the helm of affairs.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷ *Fathul-Bārī* (1/35-36/H. 6). Published by Dar Al-Qalam, edited by Fuwād 'Abdul-Bāqī.

²⁹⁸ See Shāmi: *Min Ma'ini-Sirah*, pp. 37-39. His discussion at this point is one of the best pieces of writing. And the textual "sixty-seven" is from his book *Adwa'*, p. 74.

²⁹⁹ See Dr. Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 76.

2. The scholars are unanimous that when Muslims are weak, or few in number and are convinced that if they stood up against the disbelieving tyrants, they would be annihilated, then it is allowed that they act in prudence and save their souls from destruction. For, in the face of a destruction that is certain, it might only be assumptive that they will succeed and establish Islam. In such a situation, what is certain is to be followed in contrast to what is only assumptive. 'Izz bin 'Abdus-Salām³⁰⁰ has declared this a practical principle. Dr. Buti³⁰¹ has in his comments said that from the point of view of practicality and long-term strategy this is the right course of action. In truth, such an action would be better for the cause of religion. Religious requirement in such situations is that Muslim souls should be saved from destruction so that they may continue with their struggle in fields of action open to them. Otherwise, their destruction would be injurious to the cause of Islam and will allow the disbelievers to penetrate through those doors that were earlier closed to them.

The principle derived from the above is clear: Preference should be given to what is of sure advantage to religion over what could expectedly be so, but not certain.

The Second Phase: Open Call

Ahmad³⁰² has reported on the authority of 'Ali ؓ who said, "When the Verse, 'Warn your close kin' was revealed, the Prophet ﷺ got his family members gathered together. They numbered close to thirty. They were offered food and drinks. After that he spoke to them and ended by asking: 'Who will help me in my religion and

³⁰⁰ See: *Qawā'idul-Ahkām fi Masālihil-Anām* (1/111-112), published in Egypt. Also see "*Dawābitul-Maslahati fish-Shari'atil-Islāmiyah* by Dr. Muhammad Sa'eed Ramadān Buti. *Fiqhus-Sirah*, also by Buti, p. 77.

³⁰¹ *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 77.

³⁰² *Musnad* (2/165-166/verified by Ahmad Shākir). Ahmad Shākir said: "It has a *Hasan* chain, and it is the first chain. A second chain is: *Al-Musnad* (2/352-353) and Shākir assessed its chain as *Sahih*.

my covenant, so as to be with me in Paradise and my successor in the family?' One of them said, 'O Messenger of Allāh. You are endowed with extraordinary qualities. Who can match up with you?' So, he put forth the question to those who were more closely related to him. 'Ali said, 'I will.'"

Ibn Ishāq's³⁰³ version says that the Prophet ﷺ told them in that meeting, "O sons of 'Abdul-Muttalib. By Allāh, I do not know of another man who brought anything better than what I have brought. I have brought something that is good for this world, as well as for the next."

Subsequently the Prophet ﷺ drew other plans to execute Allāh's commands. Bukhārī³⁰⁴ and Muslim³⁰⁵ report Ibn 'Abbās as saying, "When the Verse:

﴿وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الْأَقْرَبِينَ﴾

'Warn your close kin'³⁰⁶

and the direction, 'and the sincere ones of your clan,'³⁰⁷ came down, the Prophet ﷺ went out and climbed Mount Safa. He called out,

³⁰³ *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, pp. 145-146. Tabari connected its chain in his *Tafsir* (19/75). However, both the narrations are weak, but gather strength from other reports. And another of the supportive *Hadith* is reported by Ahmad, already mentioned through two chains. Yet another narration is by Ibn Abu Hātim who traces it to 'Ali ؓ which is the version that Ibn Kathir quoted in his *Tafsir* (6/180-181).

³⁰⁴ *Al-Fath* (18/397/H. 4971-4972). The words here are his.

³⁰⁵ *Muslim* (1/194/H. 208).

³⁰⁶ *Surat Ash-Shu'ara'*: 214.

³⁰⁷ Nawawi said: "It seemed this was a Qur'ānic passage that was revealed but subsequently whose recitation was abrogated. However, this addition did not occur in Bukhārī's reports. See its explanation in *Sahih Muslim* (3/82-83). This was mentioned by Muhammad Fuwād 'Abdul-Bāqī in his commentary on *Sahih Muslim* (1/194), but he passed no remark on it. And Dr. Qalā'ji while commenting on *Dalā'il* of Bayhaqī (2/181) also made no comments. Ibn Hajar (*Al-Fath* 18/113) reminded us of its presence in *Al-Bukhārī's* narration by Ibn 'Abbās as is clear from the *Hadith* that was recorded there. This addition is not found in *Bukhārī* in the Book of *Tafsir*, *Surat Ash-Shu'ara'*, chapter: "And warn your tribe of near kindred," *Al-Fath*

'Hearken to me.' They enquired, 'Who is this?' and began to assemble. He asked them, 'Will you believe me if I said that riders are about to appear from the foot of this mountain. Will you believe me?' They answered, 'We have not experienced a lie from you.' He said, 'Then, let me tell you that I am a warner unto you about a looming chastisement.' Abu Lahab replied, 'May you be destroyed. Did you assemble us for this?' And Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿تَبَّتْ يَدَا أَبِي لَهَبٍ وَتَبَّ﴾

"Destroyed be the hands of Abu Lahab; and destroyed be he."³⁰⁸

The *Sahihayn*³⁰⁹ have also preserved a report transmitted by Abu Hurayrah ؓ that when the Verse 'Warn your close kin,' was revealed, the Prophet ﷺ invited everyone of the Quraysh to his house. He addressed them in words, 'O sons of Ka'b bin Lu'ay, save yourselves from the Fire. O sons of Murrah bin Ka'b, save yourselves from the Fire. O sons of 'Abd Shams, save yourselves from the Fire. O sons of 'Abd Manāf, save yourselves from the Fire. O sons of Hāshim, O sons of 'Abdul-Muttalib, O Fātimah I can do nothing for you on the Day you will face Allāh—except for the rights (of kin in this world), which I shall observe to the best of my ability."

This loud call was performed with utmost eloquence. He called them by their tribal and family names and then invited them individually. He made it clear to the closely related kin that his call would revive and strengthen the blood relationship. But, he asserted that relationship on the basis of tribes and families would dissolve in the heat of the call coming from Allāh.³¹⁰

(18/113/H. 4770). See the explanation of Ibn Hajar to this addition. This *Hadith* has been narrated through different chains, in different words, nevertheless the meaning was the same. See it, for example, in *Siratudh-Dhahabi*, pp. 143-144, *Dalā'il* by Bayhaqi (2/181-182) and *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/42-44).

³⁰⁸ *Surat Al-Masad*: 1.

³⁰⁹ *Al-Fath* (18/115/H. 4771), *Muslim* (1/192/H. 204) the words are those of *Muslim*, see *Sirat Ibn Ishāq*, p. 147.

³¹⁰ See *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazālī, p. 101.

Lessons

1. The negative attitude of the Prophet's close kin in this phase, especially of the Qurayshites, rejects the hypotheses that this religion was the result of rising nationalism or tribalism among the Arabs and that Muhammad's call was in direct response to such desires.
2. People's slow entry into Islam is a reminder of the powerful hold of the traditions and legacies of the pagan societies on individuals. The caller encounters this in every society, old and new, in fact, even in Muslim societies. Whenever a call is made for the use of reason and logic that is guided by the *Sunnah* of the Prophet ﷺ and of the pious predecessors in understanding Islam, it is the traditions and legacies of the past that stand up against it as barriers to acceptance.
3. The specific instruction to warn, signals to every Muslim, and especially the callers, their responsibility toward their religion. The Prophet ﷺ was responsible for himself and bore the responsibility for his kinsfolk, being related to them. Then he assumed the responsibility for all mankind, in that he was a Prophet and Messenger unto all mankind.

Even so, everyone of the Muslim society shares the same responsibility with the Prophet: as an individual unto himself and toward his relatives if he has a family. Scholars and rulers bear the third responsibility towards the people.³¹¹

Pagan Methods of Resistance to the Call

The echoes of the call—*warn your close kin*—had not yet died down entirely in the valleys of Makkah when Allāh (ﷻ) revealed:

﴿فَاصْدَعْ بِمَا تُؤْمَرُ وَأَعْرِضْ عَنِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ﴾

³¹¹ Dr. Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 81-82.

"Therefore, proclaim what you are being commanded and shun the pagans."³¹²

The Prophet ﷺ rose up with all vigor, proclaiming the truth, forbidding the worship of stones, deriding those who believed in them, demonstrating the truth of Islam and refuting the false beliefs that enjoyed a hold on the pre-Islamic minds.

When the Quraysh noticed that the effect of this call was not limited to a few individuals, as had been the case earlier when similar calls to abandon the idols were raised by others, such as Zayd bin Nufayl, Waraqah and Ibn Sayfi, they stood up against the Prophet ﷺ and those who had believed in him. They tried various 'stick and carrot' methods to prevent the spread of a message that seemed to threaten their interests. The very existence of the Ka'bah between them assured them of certain privileges which they feared would be lost. The call also hurt their pride and stood between their good sense and their carnal desires. Accordingly, the most vehement in opposition were either the most corrupt or those whose interests were most affected.

(i) Measures taken by the Quraysh to prevent the Spread of the Message

The first action the Quraysh took was to meet the Prophet's uncle Abu Tālib to ask him to restrain his nephew or renounce him. They went in the form of a delegation. They said, "Your nephew has insulted our deities, found fault with our religion, made fun of our endeavors and criticized our forefathers. Therefore, either you stop him from all this, or remove yourself from between him and us. For, as we see, you face the same dilemma as we. Nevertheless, we shall take care of him." Abu Tālib spoke some comforting words answering them in good grace. So they left him.³¹³

³¹² Surat Al-Hijr: 94.

³¹³ Ibn Hishām (1/328) from the narration of Ibn Ishāq without a chain.

(ii) Threatening the Prophet ﷺ and His Uncle

When the Prophet ﷺ continued with his call, in his effort to give this religion an upper hand over all others, the Quraysh lost their composure. They declared him an enemy of theirs, and he became a much discussed person. Finally, they convinced each other to go and see Abu Tālib once again. They said to him, "O Abu Talib. You enjoy the advantage of age and honor over us. We asked you to restrain your nephew, but you haven't." Then they swore before him that they would never sit back until they had either stopped his activities, or will perforce clash with him and with Muhammad over the issue until one of them is defeated.

It was rather hard for Abu Tālib to lose his tribesmen and earn their enmity. But at the same time, he did not find fault with the Prophet ﷺ or his mission. Therefore, although after they had left he informed the Prophet ﷺ of what had transpired between him and his tribesmen, he also told the Prophet ﷺ that he was free to act the way he felt pleased.³¹⁴ But Abu Tālib pleaded that he should not burden him with more than what he could bear.³¹⁵

Ibn Ishāq's³¹⁶ version is that the Prophet ﷺ felt a weakening on the part of his uncle and so told him, "Uncle. By Allāh. If they place the sun in my right hand, and the moon on the left asking me to give up, I shall not do it until either Allāh gives it victory or I die in its cause." Then, overcome by his emotions, he cried and rose up to go. His uncle said, "Come back my nephew." When he went back he said, "Go ahead (with your works) my dear nephew. I only said that out of love. Otherwise, I shall not abandon you in return of anything in the world." Another report, also in Ibn Ishāq,³¹⁷ has 'Aqil as the

³¹⁴ Same source and place as well as in *Sirat* of Ibn Ishāq, p. 145. And Ibn Ishāq's narration at both points is Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) and hence the report is weak.

³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ See Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/329) and see also *Sirat Ibn Ishāq*, p. 154, the same chain.

³¹⁷ See *Sirat Ibn Ishāq*, p. 155 through a *Hasan* chain. See also Haythami in the *Majma'* (6/15). Narrated by Abu Ya'la with a slight shortening at the beginning. The narrators of Abu Ya'la are authentic. Albāni mentioned in the footnote of *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazālī, pp. 114-115, after mentioning

narrator. It was he who was asked to summon the Prophet ﷺ. When the Prophet went up ﷺ to his uncle, he said, "Your tribesmen (sitting here) complain that you condemn their deities in every assembly. You better stop doing that." At that, the Prophet ﷺ looked up into the sky and said, "Do you see the sun?" They replied, "Yes." He said, "I am no more capable of giving up this mission than you are capable of stealing a flame from the sun." Abu Tālib replied, "By God, we do not suspect our nephew of lies. So, return, all of you." This report is the one that is Sound (*Sahih*).

Lessons

The above of course speaks a lot about the firmness and courage of the Prophet ﷺ. But his uncle Abu Tālib's stand was, to say the least, amazing. Ibn Kathir³¹⁸ too was unable to explain it save for saying, "Allāh filled his heart with Muhammad's love. That was natural love, and not the love that is in, or for Allāh. On the other hand, there was some advantage in his continuance on his old religion, and his defence of the Prophet ﷺ. If Abu Tālib had embraced Islam, he would have lost his standing among the Quraysh, who would have felt emboldened. They would have been sure to extend their evil tongues and hands toward him: 'And your Lord creates what He wills and chooses (whom He wills).' He has thus created His creations on different patterns. Here we have two uncles: Abu Tālib and Abu Lahab. One of them (Abu Tālib) will be in the Fire up to his ankles.³¹⁹ The other will be in the bottommost pit of the Fire. In reference to the latter Allāh (ﷻ) sent down Verses

Haythami's *Hadith*: "That this story was reported in brief by Tabari in his book *Al-Awsat* and *Al-Kabir* being a *Hadith* of 'Aqil bin Abu Tālib. Dhahabi also reported it in the *Sirat*, pp. 148-149, with the same chain as of Ibn Ishāq." Then he added: "Reported by Bukhāri in the *Tārikh* as reported by Abu Kurayb, and he from Yunus." And in *Dalā'il* of Bayhaqi (2/186) being a report of 'Aqil. Bayhaqi said: "Reported by Bukhāri in the *Tārikh* through Muhammad bin 'Ala, he through Yunus (4/1/51)."

³¹⁸ See *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/45-46).

³¹⁹ An allusion to the *Hadith* agreed upon as *Sahih*, reported by 'Abbās ﷺ that he asked: "O Messenger of Allāh, will you avail to your uncle (Abu Tālib) by aught, seeing that he used to protect you and used to be angry on your

(*Surat Al-Masad*) which are recited in the pulpits and used in admonitory sermons. It proclaims that he will be in the flames with his wife carrying fuel."³²⁰

So long as Abu Tālib was alive, he continued to shield the Prophet ﷺ against his adversaries. But he himself stayed away from Islam. It is said that the Verse,

﴿وَهُمْ يَنْهَوْنَ عَنْهُ وَيَنْتَوْنَ عَنْهُ﴾

"And they prevent others from him and stay away from him,"³²¹

was revealed in reference to him.³²²

(iii) False Accusations to prevent People from (listening to) Him

a) They alleged that the Prophet ﷺ was gone mad. Allāh

behalf?" The Prophet ﷺ replied, "Yes. He is in a low intensity fire, and had it not been for me, he would have been in the bottom of the (Hell) Fire." - See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/40/H. 3883), *Muslim* (1/194-195/H. 209). And the light punishment was because of the Prophet ﷺ. The word *Dahdāh* in the original Arabic is for a thin stream of water that just reaches the ankle.

³²⁰ It has been previously mentioned that *Surat Al-Masad* was revealed in connection with Abu Lahab, as has been reported by the *Shaykhayn*, and others.

³²¹ *Surat Al-An'am*: 26.

³²² Ibn Jawzi said in *Zādul-Masir* (3/27) that there are two reasons for the revelation of this Verse: One, Abu Tālib used to prevent the polytheists from harming the Prophet ﷺ although he kept himself away from this new religion. Ibn Jawzi added: "Narrated by Sa'eed bin Jubayr through Ibn 'Abbās. And this is the opinion of 'Amr bin Dinār, 'Ata' bin Dinār and Qāsim bin Mukhaymarah." The other reason was that the infidels of Makkah used to prevent people from following the Prophet ﷺ while distancing themselves also from him. To this he added: "Reported by Wālibi through Ibn 'Abbās, as well as Ibn Hanafiyyah, Dahhāk and Suddi."

I may point out that Ibn Ishāq too reported this in his *Sirat*, p. 238, with a chain of his own ending with Ibn 'Abbās, but kept the name of one of the transmitters obscure. See also *Tafsir At-Tabari* with the verification of Shākir (11/311-315) in the explanation of this Verse.

revealed the following Verse describing their allegation:

﴿وَقَالُوا يَتَّيِّهَا الَّذِي نُزِّلَ عَلَيْهِ الذِّكْرُ إِنَّكَ لَمَجْنُونٌ﴾

"They said, 'O you to whom the admonition has been revealed, surely, you are mad.'"³²³

In answer to the allegation He revealed:

﴿مَا أَنْتَ بِنِعْمَةِ رَبِّكَ بِمَجْنُونٌ﴾

"You, by the grace of your Lord, are not mad."³²⁴

b) They accused him of magic. Allāh (ﷻ) said:

﴿وَعَجِبُوا أَنْ جَاءَهُمْ مُنْذِرٌ مِنْهُمْ وَقَالَ الْكَافِرُونَ هَذَا سَاحِرٌ كَذَّابٌ﴾

"It surprises them that a warner has been raised from among them, and so the disbelievers said, 'This is a magician, liar.'"³²⁵

And:

﴿وَقَالَ الظَّالِمُونَ إِن تَتَّبِعُونَ إِلَّا رَجُلًا مَسْحُورًا﴾

"And the transgressors said, 'Surely, you follow not but a man under the spell of magic.'"³²⁶

Walid bin Mughirah was at his wit's end to counter the effects of the Qur'ānic revelations. When Hajj season came close he gathered together the Quraysh chieftains and told them, "O Quraysh. Hajj season is upon us. Soon the Arab pilgrims will start coming in. They must have already heard of this man (i.e., Muhammad). You had better close your ranks and be of one

³²³ Surat Al-Hijr: 6.

³²⁴ Surat Al-Qalam: 2

³²⁵ Surat Sad: 4

³²⁶ Surat Al-Furqān: 8. These accusations were repeated by the followers of the devil against Musa in more than one chapter in the holy Qur'ān. See for example: Surat Al-Qasas: 36 and Surat An-Naml: 13. The accusations were also repeated by tyrants against most Messengers of Allāh. See: Surat Adh-Dhāriyyāt: 52.

opinion about him. Do not differ among yourselves, otherwise, some of you will end up contradicting others." When the ideas of calling him a soothsayer, a poet, or a magician were declared inadequate, they decided that they will call him "a magician" who creates divisions among the closely-related. Allāh revealed in reference to Walid:

﴿ذَرْنِي وَمَنْ خَلَقْتُ وَحِيدًا﴾

"Leave Me (to deal with) him whom I alone have created."³²⁷

Then the Quraysh went about informing the people about Muhammad. Allāh willed that it should be the Quraysh themselves to carry His message far and wide through the pilgrims. And that is what happened.³²⁸

This manner of response from the Quraysh actually became the reason for some people's entry into Islam. Tufayl bin 'Amr Dawsī is a case in point.³²⁹

c) They also accused him of lying. Allāh revealed:

³²⁷ Surat Al-Muddaththir: 11. See also the Verses that follow this Verse that describe Walid.

³²⁸ Ibn Hishām (2/334-337) from a narration of Ibn Ishāq, without a chain. Tabari also reported it in his *Tafsir* (14/157) through Ibn Ishāq, the narration stopping at Ibn 'Abbās (رضي الله عنه), while he insisted at hearing it off him. However, it is narrated by Abu Nu'aym in *Ad-Dalā'il* (1/232) in a manner that it is *Mursal* at the beginning of the report but continuous at the end of it. The two verifiers of *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/336) said: "It has been reported by 'Abd bin Humayd, Ibn Mundhir and Ibn Abu Hātim in brief. See *Ad-Durr Al-Manthur* (6/282). Wāhidī reported it briefly while discussing the causes of the revelation through Ibn Ishāq, p. 295. However, that chain has Ibrāhim bin Ishāq Dabari whose authenticity has been questioned. See also *Al-Mizān* (1/181)."

³²⁹ See it in *Dalā'il* of Abu Nu'aym (1/238-240). The two verifiers said: "Bayhaqi reported it through Ibn Ishāq with a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain. It is in the *Sirat* too, (1/238) although without a chain. He said in *Al-Khasā'is* (1/337): "Recorded by Abu Nu'aym through Wāqidi...Ibn Ishāq however, produced the complete chain in some of the editions tracing it through Sālih bin Kaysān, he through Tufayl bin 'Amr, although it is in all other editions without a chain..."

﴿وَقَالَ الْكَافِرُونَ هَذَا سِحْرٌ كَذَابٌ﴾

"And the disbelievers said, 'This is a magician and a liar.'"

He also said:

﴿وَقَالَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا إِنَّ هَذَا إِلَّا إِفْكٌ افْتَرَاهُ وَأَعَانَهُ عَلَيْهِ قَوْمٌ آخَرُونَ﴾

"And those who disbelieved said, 'This is a lie that he has invented. And other people have helped him in this.'"³³⁰

d) They also accused him of spinning old fables. Allāh said:

﴿وَقَالُوا أَسَاطِيرُ الْأَوَّلِينَ اكْتَتَبَهَا فَهِيَ تُمْلَى عَلَيْهِ بُكْرَةً وَأَصِيلًا﴾

"And they said, 'Fables of old that he has scribbled down and which are dictated to him morning and evening.'"³³¹

e) They also said that this Qur'ān was not from Allāh, rather from a mortal. Allāh said:

﴿وَلَقَدْ نَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُمْ يَقُولُونَ إِنَّمَا يُعَلِّمُهُ بَشَرٌ لِّسَانُ الَّذِي يُلْحِدُونَ إِلَيْهِ أَعْجَمِيٌّ وَهَذَا لِسَانٌ عَرَبِيٌّ مُبِينٌ﴾

"Indeed We are aware that they say, 'Surely, this is taught to him by a mortal.' (But) the tongue of the person they allude to is non-Arabic whereas this is plain Arabic language."³³²

f) They also alleged that the believers were a misguided lot. Allāh (ﷻ) said:

³³⁰ Surat Al-Furqān: 4. See its explanation for example in Zādul-Masir (6/72-73). Mujāhid said they alluded to the Jews when they said, "and others have helped him." Muqātil said: "They alluded to 'Udās, the freed slave of Huwaytib, and Yasār the slave of 'Āmir bin Hadrami, and Jabr the freed slave of 'Āmir. The three of them were from the People of the Book."

³³¹ Surat Al-Furqān: 5. The commentators said that the one who said this was Nadr bin Hārith. See Zādul-Masir: (6/63).

³³² Surat An-Nahl: 103. As regards who was meant by "the person," there were nine opinions. See: Zādul-Masir (4/492-493).

﴿وَإِذَا رَأَوْهُمْ قَالُوا إِنَّ هَؤُلَاءِ لَضَالُونَ﴾

"And when they see them (i.e., the believers), they say, 'Surely, these are misguided ones.'"³³³

(iv) Mockery, Ridicule and Derision

Allāh tells us about the disbelievers' mockery:

﴿وَكَذَلِكَ فَتَنَّا بَعْضَهُم بِبَعْضٍ لِّيَقُولُوا أَهَؤُلَاءِ مَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ بَيْنِنَا أَلَيْسَ اللَّهُ بِأَعْلَمَ بِالشَّاكِرِينَ﴾

"And, that is how We have tried some of them with the others so that they may say, 'Are these the ones from amongst us that Allāh has favored?' Doesn't Allāh know the grateful?"³³⁴

Bukhārī³³⁵ has a report that when the revelation stopped for a brief period, a woman told the Prophet ﷺ mockingly, "I suppose your Devil has abandoned you. I haven't seen him coming near you since two or three days." Allāh revealed:

﴿وَالضُّحَىٰ ۝١ وَاللَّيْلِ إِذَا سَجَىٰ ۝٢ مَا وَدَّعَكَ رَبُّكَ وَمَا قَلَىٰ﴾

"By the noon and by the night when it is still. Your Lord did not abandon you nor hated you."

Bukhārī³³⁶ has also recorded that Abu Jahl said mockingly, "O Allāh. If this be truly from You, then rain down on us stones from the heaven or send us a painful punishment." In reply it was revealed:

﴿وَإِذْ قَالُوا اللَّهُمَّ إِن كَانَتْ هَذِهِ حَقٌّ مِنْ عِنْدِكَ فَامْطِرْ عَلَيْنَا﴾

³³³ Surat Al-Mutaffifin: 32.

³³⁴ Surat Al-An'ām: 53.

³³⁵ Al-Fath (18/364/H. 4950). Other opinions have also been reported regarding the cause of revelation of these Verses, some of which are acceptable, while others are rejected. See Ibn Hajar: Al-Fath (18/336-364.)

³³⁶ Al-Fath (17/185/H. 4648).

حِكَاةً مِّنَ السَّمَاءِ أَوْ أُنْتِنَا بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ ﴿٣٢﴾ وَمَا كَانُ اللَّهُ لِيُعَذِّبَهُمْ وَأَنْتَ فِيهِمْ وَمَا كَانُ اللَّهُ مُعَذِّبَهُمْ وَهُمْ يَسْتَغْفِرُونَ ﴿٣٣﴾ وَمَا لَهُمْ أَلَّا يُعَذِّبَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَهُمْ يَصُدُّونَ عَنِ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ ﴿٣٤﴾

"And when they said, 'O Allāh! If this be the truth from You, then rain down on us stones from the heaven or send us a painful chastisement.' But Allāh is not such as to punish them while you are among them. And Allāh is not such as to punish them while they are seeking forgiveness. But why should Allāh not punish them when they prevent (the people) from the Holy House?"³³⁷

Ibn Ishāq³³⁸ has the story of Irāshi from whom Abu Jahl purchased a camel but delayed payment of its price. Quraysh directed Irāshi to appeal to Muhammad ﷺ, well aware of the enmity between Abu Jahl and him. When Irāshi went up to the Prophet ﷺ, he accompanied him up to Abu Jahl to ask him to pay up. Abu Jahl quietly paid the amount. When the surprised Quraysh asked Abu Jahl to explain, he said, "Woe unto you men. When he knocked at my door and I recognized his voice, I was filled with terror. When I came out I found him accompanied by a huge camel with a high hump, a massive body, and teeth never seen before. By God, I thought it would eat me off."

Allāh (ﷻ) said about their mockery and derision:

﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ أَجْرَمُوا كَانُوا مِنَ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا يَضْحَكُونَ ﴿٢٩﴾ وَإِذَا مَرُّوا بِهِمْ يَتَغَامَزُونَ ﴿٣٠﴾ وَإِذَا انْقَلَبُوا إِلَىٰ أَهْلِهِمْ انْقَلَبُوا فَكِهِينَ ﴿٣١﴾﴾

"Surely those who committed crimes used to laugh at the believers. When they passed by them they winked at one another. And when they turned to their home folk, they turned wallowing."³³⁹

³³⁷ Surat Al-Anfāl: 32-34.

³³⁸ As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi, pp. 195-196, with a broken chain, and Ibn Hishām (2/33-34) quoting the chain of Ibn Ishāq in the Sirat and so is weak.

³³⁹ Surat Al-Mutaffifin: 29-31.

It is also authentically reported that once the Quraysh chieftains were in an assembly in the Holy House speaking about the Prophet ﷺ when he himself happened to drop in. When he passed by them, they uttered a few indirect words of mockery. When they repeated it three times, the Prophet ﷺ told them, "O Quraysh. By Him in Whose Hand is my life, I have brought you slaughter." Those words drove terror into their hearts.³⁴⁰

It was out of mockery and derision that the pagans told the Prophet ﷺ, "We cannot accept the company of these (meaning Bilāl, Suhayb, Khabbāb and others). Send them away from you." In hope of their Islam, the Prophet ﷺ thought he would comply with their demand. But Allāh revealed the Verse:

﴿وَلَا تَطْرُدِ الَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ رَبَّهُمْ بِالْغَدَاةِ وَالْعَشِيِّ يُرِيدُونَ وَجْهَهُ مَا عَلَيْكَ مِنْ حِسَابِهِمْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ وَمَا مِنْ حِسَابِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ فَتَطْرُدَهُمْ فَتَكُونَ مِنَ الظَّالِمِينَ﴾

"Do not drive away those who call their Lord morning and evening seeking His Face. Their accountability is not on you, nor yours on them. If you drive them away, you will be of the transgressors."³⁴¹

On another occasion the Prophet ﷺ happened to pass by a group of Qurayshi men. They derided him, mocked him and angered him. So Allāh (ﷻ) revealed:

³⁴⁰ Recorded by Ahmad in the Musnad as in Al-Fathur-Rabbāni (20/219-220) — Ahmad Shākir's edition (11/227/H. 7036.) Shākir said its chain is Sahih. So said Ibn Abu Shaybah in the Musannaf (14/297). Ibn Ishāq also reported through a Hasan chain — Ibn Hishām (1/358).

³⁴¹ Surat Al-An'ām: 52. See the reason for revelation in Tafsir At-Tabari (11/374-388). Tabari has gathered together all the reports in this connection. Shaykh Shākir traced them and verified them. The meaning we have given in the text herewith is a summary of the narration numbered (13258) coming through a Sahih chain. Muslim and Nasa'i reported part of the Hadith coming off Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās. (See also the Tafsir of this Verse in Ibn Kathir, Qurtubi and others.)

﴿وَلَقَدْ أَسْتَهْزِئَ بِرُسُلٍ مِّن قَبْلِكَ فَحَاقَ بِالَّذِينَ سَخِرُوا مِنْهُمْ مَا كَانُوا بِهِ يَسْتَهْزِئُونَ﴾

"Surely, Messengers were mocked before you. Consequently, those who had mocked were overtaken by the very thing they were mocking (i.e., the punishment)."³⁴²

The following were the leading mockers: Aswad bin 'Abdul-Muttalib bin Asad,³⁴³ Aswad bin 'Abd Yaghuth bin Wahb Zuhri, Walid bin Mughirah Makhzumi, 'Ās bin Wā'il bin Sahmi³⁴⁴ and Hārith bin Talātilah Khuzā'i.³⁴⁵ It is about these that Allāh revealed:

﴿إِنَّا كَفَيْنَاكَ الْمُسْتَهْزِئِينَ﴾

"We will suffice you against the mockers."³⁴⁶

Accordingly, it is reported by Abu Nu'aym³⁴⁷ that Jibril threw a fresh leaf on the face of Aswad bin 'Abdul-Muttalib and

³⁴² *Surat Al-An'ām*: 10. Ibn Hishām mentioned Ibn Ishāq as the source (2/42). However, the commentators did not mention any specific reason for the revelation of this Verse. And whoever mentioned a reason, he narrated it through Ibn Ishāq, for e.g., Ibn Mundhir and Ibn Abu Hātim as in *Ad-Durr Al-Manthur* (3/5).

³⁴³ This was stated by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (18/359) and Abu Nu'aym in *Ad-Dalā'il* (1/268). See *Ibn Hishām* (2/57) and the report of Abu Nu'aym from the *Hadith* of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain; but it is a *Disconnected (Mursal)* report.

³⁴⁴ *Ibn Hishām* (1/438).

³⁴⁵ These five were mentioned by Abu Nu'aym in *Ad-Dalā'il* (1/268), relying on a report of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain but it is a *Mursal* one, and through another chain (1/270/H. 203) with the chain ending at Ibn 'Abbās. Nonetheless, one of the narrators is Kalbi who had been abandoned as a narrator.

³⁴⁶ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (1/268) from a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain, but it is *Mursal*. It is one of the narrations of Ibrāhim bin Sa'd who was one of the students of Ibn Ishāq.

³⁴⁷ *Surat Al-Hijr*: 95. Ibn Ishāq: *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, pp. 195-196, with an *Interrupted (Munqati')* chain—Ibn Hishām (2/33-34), with the chain of Ibn Ishāq in *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*.

he became blind. He (Jibril) pointed at Aswad bin 'Abd Yaghuth's stomach. He died of a stomach ailment. As he passed by Walid bin Mughirah, he pointed at a wound he had received some years ago, below his ankle. It grew worse and he died of it. He passed by 'Ās bin Wā'il and pointed at the hollow of his sole. When the man went to Tā'if on his donkey a thorn pierced the hollow of his sole. He died because of it. Jibril passed by Hārith bin Talātilah and pointed at his head. The man began to vomit and ultimately died.³⁴⁸

Some others who were also in the forefront of those who mocked were: Abu Jahl, Umaiyah bin Khalaf, Nadr bin Hārith, Akhnas bin Shurayq and Ubaiy bin Khalaf.³⁴⁹

(v) Disturbances

The pagans had made an agreement between themselves that they would make noise and create disturbances whenever the Qur'an was recited in their presence, so that it was not heard,

³⁴⁸ Reported by Abu Nu'aym in *Ad-Dalā'il* (1/268-269). The two verifiers said: "Reported by Ibn Ishāq in the *Sirat* (2/58-59), and his narrators are trustworthy. Ibn Ishāq insisted on having heard (it), yet it is *Disconnected (Mursal)* report." Suyuti said in *Al-Khasā'is* (1/365): "Recorded by Bayhaqi and Abu Nu'aym through Ibn 'Abbās." Then he mentioned a report close to one under discussion and added, "Haythami mentioned in *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (7/47) after reporting through Ibn 'Abbās as to what caused the revelation of 'We will suffice you against the mockers,' in meaning similar to the meaning of the *Hadith* of the chapter. This was recorded by Tabarāni in *Al-Awsat*, whose narrators include Muhammad bin 'Abdul-Hākim Nishapuri, with whom I am unfamiliar. However, the rest of the narrators are trustworthy." Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (18/3) described how 'Ās was destroyed.

Dhahabi has a *Sahih* report in his *Sirat* (pp. 224-225) that comes from Ibn 'Abbās discussing the destruction of these mockers. It follows a route different from that of Ibn Ishāq. Bayhaqi's report is in *Sunan* (8/9) through trustworthy transmitters except 'Umar bin 'Abdullah bin Razin, who was in any case reliable. In short, the report can be used for scholarly purposes.

³⁴⁹ *Ibn Hishām* (1/447, 437, 439, 443 and 445).

understood and bore any effect on the good-natured people. Allāh said about this:

﴿وَقَالَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَا تَسْمَعُوا لِهَذَا الْقُرْآنِ وَالْغَوْا فِيهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ﴾

"And those who disbelieved said, 'Do not listen to this Qur'ān, rather, make disturbances, haply you will overcome (its influence).'"³⁵⁰

(vi) Demands for Miracles and Feats beyond Humans

The pagans also made impossible demands on the Prophet ﷺ for miracles and supernatural feats. Allāh reported to us their words:

﴿مَالِ هَذَا الرَّسُولِ يَأْكُلُ الطَّعَامَ وَيَمْشِي فِي الْأَسْوَاقِ لَوْلَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْهِ مَلَكٌ فَيَكُونُ مَعَهُ نَذِيرًا ۖ أَوْ يُلْقَىٰ إِلَيْهِ كَنْزٌ أَوْ تَكُونُ لَهُ جَنَّةٌ يَأْكُلُ مِنْهَا﴾

"They say, 'What's wrong with this Messenger that he eats food and goes about in the markets. Only if an angel had descended to him accompanying him as a warner. Or, if a treasure was given to him, or he had an orchard out of which he ate?'"³⁵¹

And:

﴿وَإِذَا تُتْلَىٰ عَلَيْهِمْ آيَاتُنَا بَيِّنَاتٍ قَالَ الَّذِينَ لَا يَرْجُونَ لِقَاءَنَا أَتَنْتِ بِقُرْآنٍ غَيْرِ هَذَا أَوْ بَدِّلْهُ﴾

"When Our clear Verses are recited to them those who do not hope to meet Us say, 'Bring us a Qur'ān other than this, or alter it.'"

³⁵⁰ Surat Fussilat: 26. See Zādul-Masir (7/252).

³⁵¹ Surat Al-Furqān: 7-8. Allāh also said: "And they say: 'Why has not an angel been sent down to him?' Had We sent down an angel, the matter would have been settled at once, and no respite would be granted to them." Surat Al-An'am: 8.

Allāh (ﷻ) replied to them in words:

﴿قُلْ مَا يَكُونُ لِي أَنْ أُبَدِّلَهُ مِنْ تِلْقَآئِي نَفْسِي إِنْ أَتَّبِعُ إِلَّا مَا يُوحَىٰ إِلَيَّ إِنِّي أَخَافُ إِنْ عَصَيْتُ رَبِّي عَذَابٌ يَوْمٍ عَظِيمٍ﴾

"Say, 'It is not up to me to alter it by myself. I only follow that which is revealed to me. I fear – if I sinned against my Lord – the punishment of a Great Day.'"³⁵²

Allāh also recorded their words:

﴿وَقَالُوا لَنْ نُؤْمِنَ لَكَ حَتَّىٰ تَفْجُرَ لَنَا مِنَ الْأَرْضِ يَنْبُوعًا ۙ أَوْ تَكُونَ لَكْ جَنَّةٌ مِّنْ خَيْلٍ وَعِنبٍ فَتَفْجُرَ الْأَنْهَارَ خِلَالَهَا تَفْجِيرًا ۙ أَوْ تُسْقِطَ السَّمَاءَ كَمَا زَعَمْتَ عَلَيْنَا كِسَفًا أَوْ تَأْتِيَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ قَبِيلًا ۙ أَوْ يَكُونَ لَكْ بَيْتٌ مِّنْ زُخْرِفٍ أَوْ تَرْقَىٰ فِي السَّمَاءِ وَلَنْ نُؤْمِنَ لِرُقِيِّكَ حَتَّىٰ تُنَزِّلَ عَلَيْنَا كِتَابًا نَّقْرُؤُهُ﴾

"And they said, 'We shall never believe in you until you opened forth from the earth a spring. Or, you have an orchard of date palm and grapes and make springs run through them. Or, you send down upon us pieces of heaven as you allege, or bring forth to us Allāh and the angels face to face. Or you should have a house made of gold, or climb up into the heaven. Nevertheless, we shall never believe in you until you bring down a book that we can read.'"

The Prophet ﷺ was told to answer them, as in the same Verse:

﴿قُلْ سُبْحَانَ رَبِّي هَلْ كُنْتُ إِلَّا بَشَرًا رَسُولًا﴾

"Say, 'Glory to my Lord. Am I anything more but a human being and a Messenger.'"³⁵³

They also demanded that he move the Makkan mountains, split the earth and produce canals so that they could cultivate the land. He was also asked to bring back to life their ancestors so that they could ask them if he was an authentic Prophet. Allāh (ﷻ) answered

³⁵² Surat Yunus: 15.

³⁵³ Surat Al-Isra': 90-94.

them in words:

﴿وَلَوْ أَنَّ قُرْآنًا سُيِّرَتْ بِهِ الْجِبَالُ أَوْ قُطِعَتْ بِهِ الْأَرْضُ أَوْ كَلِمَ بِهِ الْمَوْتُ بَل لَّهِ الْأَمْرُ جَمِيعًا﴾

"If the mountains could be moved by the Qur'ān, or the earth split, or the dead begin to talk (they wouldn't believe), although all affairs are Allāh's." (i.e., I have no powers, it is only Allāh Who has that kind of power).³⁵⁴

Obviously, their demands were out of arrogance, not out of a sincere desire to believe. Therefore, those miracles were not shown. Allāh said to them:

﴿وَأَقْسَمُوا بِاللَّهِ جَهْدَ أَيْمَنِهِمْ لَئِنْ جَاءَتْهُمْ آيَةٌ لَيُؤْمِنُنَّ بِهَا قُلْ إِنَّمَا الْآيَاتُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَمَا يُشْعِرُكُمْ أَنَّهَا إِذَا جَاءَتْ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ ١٩﴾ وَلَوْ أَنَّا نَزَّلْنَا إِلَيْهِمُ الْمَلَكُوكَ وَكَلَّمَهُمُ الْمَوْتَى وَحَشَرْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ قُبُلًا مَا كَانُوا لَيُؤْمِنُوا إِلَّا أَنْ يَشَاءَ اللَّهُ وَلَكِنْ أَكْثَرُهُمْ يَجْهَلُونَ﴾

"And they swore by Allāh emphatically that if a sign came to them they'd believe. Say, 'Verily, signs are with Allāh.' And what will tell you that if they were shown, they would not believe... And, if We were to send down angels to them, the dead spoke to them, and We gathered everything right before them, they would still not believe, unless Allāh were to will so. But most of them understand not."³⁵⁵

Allāh also said:

³⁵⁴ Surat Ar-Ra'd: 31. See also Ibn Kathir (4/382) for the cause of revelation, as well as Tafsir of Tabari (16/446-450/Shākir) where the report has a continuous chain up to Ibn 'Abbās as also in a Mursal form leading up to Mujāhid and Dahhāk. Ibn Ishāq also recorded but without a chain— Ibn Hishām (1/381). See Shāmi: Subulul-Huda (2/456-457) through a Hadith reported by Abu Ya'la and Abu Nu'aym through Zubayr bin Awwām. Look for it in (2/452) in regard to this Hadith as narrations of Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Jarir and Bayhaqi.

³⁵⁵ Surat Al-An'ām: 109-111.

﴿وَمَا مَنَعَنَا أَنْ نُرْسِلَ بِالْآيَاتِ إِلَّا أَنْ كَذَّبَ بِهَا الْأَوَّلُونَ...﴾

"And nothing prevented Us from sending signs except that the earlier people had denied them."³⁵⁶

Ahmad³⁵⁷ has preserved a Hadith of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ which says, "The Makkans demanded that the Prophet ﷺ convert Mount Safa into that of gold and shift the mountains in close range far away so that they could irrigate the land. It was said to him that if he wished he could give them respite, but, if he wished those signs could be sent down on condition that if they didn't believe they would be destroyed like the previous nations. The Prophet ﷺ chose to wait. So Allāh revealed:

﴿وَمَا مَنَعَنَا أَنْ نُرْسِلَ بِالْآيَاتِ إِلَّا أَنْ كَذَّبَ بِهَا الْأَوَّلُونَ وَآتَيْنَا ثَمُودَ النَّاقَةَ مُبْصِرَةً فَظَلَمُوا بِهَا﴾

"And nothing prevented Us that we send the signs except that the earlier people denied them. We gave Thamud the Camel, but they acted wrongfully therewith (and so were destroyed)."³⁵⁸

³⁵⁶ Surat Al-Isra': 59. See Ibn Kathir: Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah (3/55).

³⁵⁷ See Al-Fathur-Rabbāni (20/222-223) narrated through two chains, both copied by Ibn Kathir in Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah (3/57) where he said: "These are two narratives with good chains. It has also come as a Mursal report from a group of the Followers, such as: Sa'eed bin Jubayr, Qatādah, and Ibn Jurayj and others." He added: "This is how Nasa'i recorded it from Jarir." Sā'āti said in Al-Fathur-Rabbāni (20/223): "Reported by Haythami," and then added: "The narrators of the two reports are trustworthy except for the fact that one of the chains has 'Imrān bin Hakam (meaning the report concerning this chapter), but that is an error. In some of the chains occurs 'Imrān Abul-Hakam who was the son of Hārith, and which is correct. Bazzār also narrated it in the like manner." Sā'āti then added: "Hāfiz Ibn Kathir mentioned it in his Tafsir referring it to Imam Ahmad, Ibn Marduwayh and to Hākim as in his book Al-Mustadrak." Hākim said: "This Hadith meets with the conditions set by Muslim for his Sahih." Dhahabi approved it. Shāmi has mentioned it in his Subul (2/485) that of those who reported it is Diya' in his Sahih, tracing it through Ibn 'Abbās ؓ.

³⁵⁸ Surat Al-Isra': 59.

It is also reported that they demanded that he transform a rock of their choice to gold so that they could chip off it by and by and save themselves the summer and winter trade journeys. They also demanded that he perform a convincing miracle. So he showed them the moon. It split. Imam Muslim is one of those who recorded this event.³⁵⁹

(vii) Attempts at Compromise

While the above was going on, the Quraysh also tried to work out a compromise between Islam and pagandom. They were to drop off some elements of their religion while the Prophet ﷺ was expected to drop off some. Allāh said:

﴿وَدُّوا لَوْ نُدْهِنُ فَيَذْهَبُونَ﴾

"They hope that you would weaken so that they can also come down."³⁶⁰

When they suggested that he worship their deities one day and in return they worship his Deity the next day, Allāh (ﷻ) revealed the chapter entitled *The Disbelievers*. It said:

﴿قُلْ يٰٓأَيُّهَا الْكَافِرُونَ ۝١ لَا أَعْبُدُ مَا تَعْبُدُونَ ۝٢ وَلَا أَنْتُمْ عَابِدُونَ مَا أَعْبُدُ ۝٣ وَلَا أَنَا عَابِدٌ مَّا عَبَدْتُمْ ۝٤ وَلَا أَنْتُمْ عَابِدُونَ مَا أَعْبُدُ ۝٥ لَكُمْ دِينُكُمْ وَلِيَ دِينِ﴾

"Say, O disbelievers. I do not worship what you worship. Nor do you worship what I worship. Neither am I going to worship what you worship nor are you going to worship what I worship. For you your religion and for me mine."

They also tried to reach a compromise deal with his uncle. They

³⁵⁹ One of the narratives of Abu Ya'la and Abu Nu'aym coming through Al Zubayr bin 'Awwām. This is what Shāmi said in *Subulul-Huda* (2/457). The rest of the report is in the same meaning as the previous one.

³⁶⁰ *Surat Al-Qalam*: 9.

suggested that he adopt 'Umārah bin Walid bin Mughirah, in place of Muhammad ﷺ, and hand him over to them so that they could kill him.³⁶¹

When Abu Tālib fell ill and they felt that he might not survive, some of them said to others, "Hamzah and 'Umar have embraced Islam. Muhammad's religion has also spread into the distant tribes. Let's go to Abu Tālib and ask him to work out a compromise between us and Muhammad." When they went up to him he addressed the Prophet ﷺ saying, "My dear nephew. These are the leaders of your tribe. They have come here to give you something, and take something from you." The Prophet ﷺ told him, "Yes. Let them accept a single word from me and they will own the Arab world. And the non-Arab world will follow their religion." According to another version, "The Arabs will follow their religion and the non-Arabs will send them tribute." They were over-pleased. They said, "A single word?" He said, "Yes," Abu Jahl said, "Why, you can have ten words from us." He replied, "You declare that there is no God except Allāh and abandon whatever else you worship." They began to clap their hands. They said, "Muhammad. Do you want to replace several gods with one? This is strange."

Then some of them told others, "This man will not give you a bit of what you wish to get from him. Hold on to your religion until God decides between us." With that they dispersed and Allāh revealed the first few passages of *Surat Sad*.³⁶²

³⁶¹ Ibn Hishām (1/330) from a narration of Ibn Ishāq without a chain.

³⁶² Reported by Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/314-315/verified by Shākir), Shākir said: "It has a *Sahih* chain." It is also in Tirmidhi's *As-Sunan* (8/361/H. 3230) where he said "This *Hadith* is *Sahih* and *Hasan*." Hākim has it in his *Al-Mustadrak* (2/432) and declared it trustworthy, which Dhahabi approved. Also Tabari: *Tafsir* (23/125), Wāhidi: *Asbābun-Nuzul*, (p. 209) and Suyuti: *Ad-Durr Al-Manthur* (5/295) noting its recording in Ibn Abu Shaybah, 'Abd bin Humayd, Nasa'i, Ibn Mundhir, Ibn Abu Hātim and Ibn Marduwayh. Many others also recorded this *Hadith*. Of those of the biographers who reported it: Ibn Ishāq, with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain, as in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (2/67-68) and *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 236.

(viii) **Ridiculing the Qur'ān, the One Who revealed it, and the One Who brought it**

Bukhārī,³⁶³ Muslim,³⁶⁴ Tirmidhi³⁶⁵ and others have reported the words of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ concerning Allāh's Words,

﴿وَلَا تَجْهَرُ بِصَلَاتِكَ وَلَا تُخَافُتَ بِهَا﴾

"And do not recite aloud in your prayers nor whisper (the words),"

that these words were revealed at a time when the Prophet ﷺ performed his prayers aloud in Makkah. When he raised his voice in the prayers, the pagans showed disrespect to the Qur'ān, to the One Who revealed it and to the one who brought it. Therefore Allāh forbid that he recite it aloud – that the pagans should hear him – nor whisper it – that the Muslims cannot hear him. He asked him to follow a middle course.

Ibn Ishāq³⁶⁶ has reported that when the Prophet ﷺ recited the Qur'ān aloud, the Quraysh dispersed, not willing to hear. If any of them wished to hear the Qur'ān, he concealed himself from others. If he felt that someone might spot him listening to the Qur'ān, he moved off, in fear of persecution. When he felt that he could hear, while others could not, because the Prophet's voice was low, then he

³⁶³ Al-Fath (17/299-300/H. 4722 and 4723). And the Hadith that follows (4723) has the Tafsir of 'Aishah ؓ which states that the Verse was revealed in connection with supplication. Ibn Hajar said: "Nawawi, Tabari, and others have preferred the opinion of Ibn 'Abbās; although there remains the possibility that it was meant for the supplication to be made within the prayer. Ibn Marduwayh reported a Hadith of Abu Hurayrah ؓ which says: "The Messenger of Allāh used to raise his voice when supplicating at the Ka'bah, and so it (this Verse) came down." The commentators have other opinions..." Al-Fath (17/300).

³⁶⁴ Muslim (1/329/H. 145).

³⁶⁵ Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi (3/70/H. 3366-3367). Albāni said: "Sahih by consensus."

³⁶⁶ As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi, p. 206, with a Weak (Da'if) chain because of the weakness of Dāwud bin Husayn in his narration from 'Ikrimah, see Al-Kāmil (3/959) and At-Tahdhib (3/181), At-Taqrīb, p. 199.

pretended to hear nothing, although closely following him. Therefore, Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿وَلَا تَجْهَرُ بِصَلَاتِكَ﴾

"Do not recite aloud in your prayers"

-otherwise they will disperse, but,

﴿وَلَا تُخَافُتَ بِهَا﴾

"Do not whisper"

-otherwise the one wishing to hear, in secrecy, might not be able to hear,

﴿وَابْتَغِ بَيْنَ ذَلِكَ سَبِيلًا﴾

"And seek a way in between."³⁶⁷

When the Muslims harshly criticized the Arab deities, the disbelievers began to criticize Allāh. Allāh revealed,

﴿وَلَا تَسُبُّوا الَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ فَيَسُبُّوا اللَّهَ عَدْوًا بِغَيْرِ عِلْمٍ﴾

"Do not criticize those who worship deities other than Allāh, or they will criticize Allāh out of spite, without knowledge."^{368,369}

³⁶⁷ Surat Al-Isra': 110.

³⁶⁸ Surat Al-An'am: 108

³⁶⁹ Tabari brought in many reports in his Tafsir (12/33-35/Shākir's verification) as regard the reasons behind the revelation of this Verse. One of them ending at Ibn 'Abbās ؓ and two Mursal reports as narratives of Qatādah both with different chains; and a third Mursal report reaching Suddi. The one reported of Ibn 'Abbās is Interrupted (Munqati'), because it is one of the narrations of 'Ali bin Abu Talhah reporting Ibn 'Abbās. As regards the Disconnected (Mursal) reports of Qatādah, they are weak because Qatādah did not hear from any Companion other than Anas. Suddi's report is also weak because there were varied opinions about him. In addition to that, he does not narrate but from very young of the Companions such as Ibn 'Abbās and Anas. Thus he is of the minors of the Followers. As for the route that ends with Ibn 'Abbās, it is one of the best chains which Bukhārī depended on in his Sahih. The Sunan compilers accept the reports of 'Ali bin Abu Talhah. See Dhahabi's At-Tafsir wal-Mufasssirun (1/77-78).

Thus, although it was right to criticize the pagan deities, its prohibition was necessary so that Allāh was not ridiculed—which, apart from other things, would bring down Allāh's chastisement.³⁷⁰

This gives us the principle that sometimes a good thing has to be given up from fear of evil repercussions. Hence we find the report in trustworthy collections that the Prophet ﷺ said, "It is a great sin that someone should curse his parents." They asked, "O Messenger of Allāh. How can one curse his parents?" He replied, "Yes. He curses someone's father, so the other man curses his father. He curses someone's mother, so the other man curses his mother."³⁷¹ He also said to 'Āishah رضي الله عنها, "If your people were not so close to pagandom, I would have got the Ka'bah constructed on Ibrāhīm's design."³⁷²

(ix) Consultations with the Jews

In order to contain the growth of Islam, the Quraysh also got in touch with the Jews. They sent a delegation headed by Nadr bin Hārith along with 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ayt, to ask a few questions by whose answers they could disprove the Prophet's authenticity. They told them to ask him about the Seven Sleepers, Dhul-Qarnayn, and about the soul. Allāh (ﷻ) defeated their purpose by answering these questions through His revelations³⁷³ (see *Surat Al-Kahf*).

³⁷⁰ Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (3/306).

³⁷¹ *Muslim* (1/92/H. 90), Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (2/146, 195, 214, 216) a Hadith of 'Abdullah bin 'Amr. See Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (3/3080).

³⁷² Reported by Bukhārī, Muslim and others, see: *Al-Bukhārī*, *Kitābul-'Ilm*, and *Muslim* (2/968-973/H. 1333). The words here are those of Muslim.

³⁷³ This story has been reported by Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/371-372), *Sahihut-Tirmidhi* (3/69/H. 3361-3362) being a Hadith of Ibn 'Abbās. Albānī said: "The chain is *Sahih*." The narration has only a question about the soul.

Ahmad reported it in his *Musnad*. See *Al-Fathur-Rabbānī* (18/196-197) with the same chain and text of *At-Tirmidhi*. See *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (1/269-270) as a report of Ibn Ishāq, with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain for he kept back the name of the person from whom he took the report. But the rest of the transmitters are trustworthy. Others have also reported it. The

(x) Efforts at Seduction

The Quraysh also tried their hands at seduction. They sent across 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah to the Prophet ﷺ. He said, "My dear nephew. You are aware of your own honored position amongst us. You have brought something terrible, splitting families thereof. Listen to the suggestion I have brought. Maybe it will be acceptable to you. If you are looking for wealth, well, we shall gather together a lot of money for you to make you the richest among us. If you are after honor and prestige, we shall declare you our leader without whose consultation nothing will be done. If you are looking for kingship, we shall declare you our monarch. But if you feel this is something that comes to you from within yourself, that you have no control over and cannot resist it, then we shall get you treated at the hands of a healer, at our cost, until you are healed."

When he was finished, the Prophet ﷺ read out the opening Verses of chapter *Fussilat* until when he reached the Verse,

﴿فَإِنْ أَعْرَضُوا فَقُلْ أَنْذَرْتُكُمْ صَاعِقَةً مِثْلَ صَاعِقَةِ عَادٍ وَثَمُودَ﴾

"But, if they turn away, say, 'I have warned you of a huge Cry like the Cry of 'Ād and Thamud,'"³⁷⁴

- 'Utbah placed his hand on his mouth and stood up as if he feared the Cry would overtake him. Then he returned to his people to tell them that what Muhammad had brought was neither poetry nor magic nor soothsaying.³⁷⁵ He suggested that the Prophet ﷺ be left to himself.

Shaykhayn reported—as also Ahmad, Tirmidhi, Nasa'i, Ibn Jarir, Ibn Mundhir and others attributed to Ibn Mas'ud رضي الله عنه a report that the Jews asked the Messenger of Allāh about the soul when he was in Madinah and this Verse was revealed, "And they ask you (O Muhammad ﷺ) concerning the Rūh (the spirit). Say: 'The Rūh (the spirit) is a Command of my Lord. And you have not been given knowledge, but a little.'" *Surat Al-Isra'*: 85. The two reports of Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn Mas'ud have been reconciled by stating that probably several incidents led to the sending down of the revelation.

³⁷⁴ *Surat Fussilat*: 13.

³⁷⁵ This was reported by Ibn Ishāq with a *Munqati'* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/362-363) and 'Abd bin Humayd. See *Al-Muntakhab min Musnad 'Abd bin*

Other reports in Bayhaqi, Ibn Abu Shaybah and Ibn Humayd say that when 'Utbah spoke, he also said, "And, if you want women, we can give you ten women from the best of Quraysh families to choose from."

Another report says that Walid bin Mughirah went to the Prophet ﷺ to talk him about his mission. The Prophet ﷺ read out a few Qur'ānic Verses to him. That softened him. The news reached Abu Jahl. He came up and told him, "Uncle. Your people are thinking of collecting funds for you." Walid asked, "What for?" He said, "To present it to you, for, you went to Muhammad to eat some good food..." It was at that time that Walid commented on the recitation that he had heard from the Prophet ﷺ, "By God. Its words carry a strange sweetness, it is covered with beauty, its outer appearance is rich, and its contents a fountainhead. Surely, it will overcome and will not be overcome, it will destroy everything that comes under (its sway)..."³⁷⁶

(xi) Threats

It was Abu Jahl's habit that whenever he heard about someone

Humayd, verified by Sāmarrā'i and Sa'eedi, p. 337, H. 1123 with a Connected (Muttasil) chain coming from Jābir —a report of Ibn Abu Shaybah—the chain of narrators include Ajlah Kindi, whom Ibn Ma'in and others trusted but Nasa'i and others distrusted. The rest of the narrators were however trustworthy, the reason why Albāni said that its chain is *Hasan*. See *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazālī, p. 113, footnote. As for the chain of Ibn Ishāq, Albāni said that it is *Hasan* but *Mursal*. It was also reported by Ibn Shaybah in his *Musannaf* (14/295-297), by a route other than that of Ibn Ishāq. It too contains Ajlah. Bayhaqi also preserved it in his *Dalā'il* (2/202-203) being the same narration as Ibn Abu Shaybah's; and also Abu Nu'aym in *Dalā'il* (1/234). See Haythami in the *Majma'* (6/20) in places mentioned there.

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having embraced Islam, he humiliated him and threatened him with more severe measures. He would say, "You have abandoned the religion of your father who is better than you. We shall try your forbearance, humiliate you, and dishonor you." If he happened to be a trader, he would say, "We will destroy your business and wealth." If the man was weak, he would beat him up.³⁷⁷

(xii) Physical Assaults

When all the preceding measures did not bear out any result in preventing the Prophet ﷺ and his followers from remaining firm in their religion, the Quraysh opted for physical tortures.³⁷⁸

Their persecution measures became all the more harsh when they found the Prophet ﷺ openly observe religious rituals such as prayers in the Holy House. Once Abu Jahl asked his friends whether Muhammad rubbed his face on the ground before them. (That is, did he prostrate himself)? When they said yes, he swore, "By Lāt and 'Uzza. If I see him doing that I'll place my foot on his neck or rub his face in the dust." A few days later he happened to come in and find the Prophet in prayers. He stepped forward to accomplish what he had promised. But he fell back trying to ward off something with his hands. He was asked what the matter was. He said, "Between me and him I found a pit of fire, ghosts and wings." The Prophet ﷺ said, "If he had come nearer, the angels would have torn him to pieces." And Allāh revealed,

﴿... كَلَّا إِنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ لِرَبِّهِ لَكَنَّاظٍ . . . أَرَأَيْتَ الَّذِي يَنْهَى عَبْدًا إِذَا صَلَّى . . . أَرَأَيْتَ إِنْ كَذَّبَ وَتَوَلَّى . . . كَلَّا لَئِنْ لَمْ يَنْتَهِ لَنَسْفَعًا بِالنَّاصِيَةِ . . . كَلَّا لَا نُطِيعُهُ وَأَسْجُدُ وَاقْتَرِبُ﴾

"...Nay. But man rebels ... Have you seen the one who prevents a slave when he prays? ... Have you considered if he be the one who denied and turned away?... Nay. If he did not desist we shall hold

³⁷⁷ Ibn Ishāq, through a Suspended (Mu'allaq) chain — Ibn Hishām (1/395).

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³⁷⁸ Muslim (4/2145-2155/H. 2797), and see its shortened version in *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (18/380/H. 4958).

him by his forelock ... Nay. Don't obey him, prostrate yourself and get closer."³⁷⁹

Bukhārī³⁸⁰ has reported 'Urwah bin Zubayr as saying, "I asked 'Abdullah bin 'Amr about the worst that the pagans did to the Prophet ﷺ. He answered, 'I saw 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ayt going up to the Prophet ﷺ while he was in prayers. He threw his cloak around his neck and began to pull hard. Abu Bakr happened to come in. He shoved the man away. He pleaded, 'Do you want to kill a man for saying Allāh is his Lord, while he has also brought you signs from his Lord?'"

Bukhārī³⁸¹ and Muslim³⁸² have also recorded Ibn Mas'ūd as narrating, "Once Abu Jahl happened to be sitting by while the Prophet ﷺ was praying in the Holy Mosque. A camel's intestine, slaughtered the day earlier, was lying by. Abu Jahl said, 'Who volunteers to place the intestine on the Prophet's shoulders while he is in prostration?' In response,³⁸³ the worst of their men got up and placed the intestines on the Prophet's shoulder while his forehead was on the ground. Everyone laughed so much that some had to lean on others. I was there, watching all that. Had I someone in my support, I would have removed the thing from the Prophet's back. In the meanwhile, the Prophet ﷺ remained in prostration, not raising his head, until someone ran to Fātimah and informed her. She was a little girl then, bigger than a child. She came along with Juwayriyah. She removed the intestines, turned to them and cursed them. When the Prophet ﷺ had finished, he invoked Allāh's

³⁷⁹ Surat Al-'Alaq: 6-19.

³⁸⁰ Al-Fath (14/179/H. 3, 15/9-11/H. 3856). Ibn Ishāq has the report through a Hasan chain, see Ibn Hishām (1/358-359). His Sirat has the report with the same chain, pp. 229-230, being a narration of Yunus bin Bukayr.

³⁸¹ Al-Fath (12/66/H. 2934).

³⁸² Muslim (3/1418-1419/H. 1794). Apart from the two others also reported, for example: Ahmad in his Musnad (5/272/H. 3722). Shākir said it has a Sahih chain. Also Ibn Ishāq in the Sirat, p. 211, and Ibn Hishām (2/65-66) without a chain, and with a similar meaning as of the Shaykhayn and Ahmad.

³⁸³ He is 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ayt, as has been clarified through a second narration in Muslim (3/1419/H. 1794).

destruction on them in a loud voice. And, I tell you, I saw those he named that day fallen at Badr, their corpses dragged by their feet and hurled into a pit."

Ibn Hajar³⁸⁴ said, "Abu Ya'la and Bazzār have reported through a Sahih chain ending with Anas who said, "Once they beat up the Prophet ﷺ until he went blank." Abu Bakr got up and began crying out words, 'Woe unto you men. Will you kill a man for saying his Lord is Allāh?' So they let him go and began to beat Abu Bakr."

Abu Lahab's son 'Utaybah also committed aggression against the Prophet ﷺ. He tore his shirt and spat on his face, except that his spittle did not reach the Prophet's face. The Prophet ﷺ supplicated then and there, "O Allāh. Set one of Your dogs upon this man." His supplication was answered. 'Utaybah was torn to pieces by forest beasts when he was in Zarqa' in Shām.³⁸⁵ Allāh also shielded him from Umm Jamil – Arwa or 'Awra', Harb's daughter, Abu Sufyān's sister and wife of Abu Lahab – when she attempted to throw a rock at him. This is reported by Bayhaqi in his Dalā'il, through a few weak reports that strengthen each other. She used to place thorns in his path as alluded to by the Qur'ān in the chapter titled "Al-Masad." This is the preferred explanation of the Verses.

Ahmad³⁸⁶ has reported that the Quraysh gathered together in the Hijr area of the Haram. They swore in the name of their deities – Lāt, 'Uzza, Manāt, Nā'ilah and Isāf – that if they saw Muhammad they would rise up as one body and strike him dead. Fātimah

³⁸⁴ See Al-Fath (15/11/H. 3856). See also Musnad Abu Ya'la (3691) and Hākim (3/67).

³⁸⁵ See Bayhaqi in Dalā'il (2/338) who said regarding its chain: "This was what 'Abbās bin Fadl said, and it is not strong."

³⁸⁶ Al-Musnad (4/269/H. 2762). Shākir said: "Its chain is Sahih," and it is in Majma'uz-Zāwa'id (8/228), saying, "Ahmad preserved it quoting two chains one of which is authentic." And I say: "Both of them are authentic." Musnad (5/163) has it through another chain reaching up to Ibn 'Abbās. Shākir said it is Sahih. From the point of the chain, this story reaches the status of Hasan. It could reach the Sahih status because of the number of chains involved, and because its transmitters are trustworthy – as Bawazir said in his book Marwiyyāt Ghazwati Badr, p. 223.

informed the Prophet ﷺ of their resolve. He came with a handful of dust. Whoever it struck was found slaughtered at Badr.

Ahmad³⁸⁷ has also recorded Anas ؓ that one night Jibril visited the Prophet ﷺ. He found him bleeding, and sad. Some Makkans had beaten him up. Jibril asked him, "What happened?" The Prophet ﷺ answered that so-and-so had beaten him up. Jibril asked him, "Do you want me to show you a sign from your Lord?" The Prophet ﷺ said, "Yes." Jibril looked at a tree at the far end of the valley and said, "Beckon that tree." The Prophet ﷺ beckoned it. It came and stood before him. Jibril said, "Order it to go back." He ordered it to return and it complied. The Prophet ﷺ said, "That's enough for me."

Ibn Kathir's³⁸⁸ opinion is that most of the physical assaults that he suffered happened only after the death of his uncle Abu Tālib.

Abu Bakr ؓ too received his own share of physical tortures until he decided that he would go away to Abyssinia.³⁸⁹

One day Abu Bakr ؓ stood up and addressed some people in the Holy House. The pagans beat him blue and left bruises on his body. Of those who beat him 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah was one. He hit him so hard on the face with his shoes that those who saw him couldn't make out between the nose and the mouth. Banu Taym came in aid of Abu Bakr and so the Quraysh abandoned him. His tribesmen carried him off in a cloak to his house. They thought he was dead and swore that if he died, they would kill 'Utbah in retaliation.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁷ Sā'ātī said in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/220): "I could not find this *Hadith* in other places except at Ahmad. And his narrators are trustworthy."

³⁸⁸ *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/148); Shāmi: *Subulul-Huda* (2/572); *Ibn Sa'd* (1/211).

³⁸⁹ See the *Hadith* in its complete form reported by *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (10/43-44/H. 2297). *Ibn Hishām* reported it through a *Hasan* chain (2/14-15) as well as 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Musannaf* (5/384-389) and Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (2/471-473). More material will follow at the point we deal with the story of the Prophet's *Hijrah* to Tā'if.

³⁹⁰ See the story in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/33-34).

The first person to recite the Qur'ān aloud in the Ka'bah after the Prophet ﷺ was 'Abdullah bin Mas'ud ؓ. He did it despite being warned of dangerous consequences. So when he attempted it, they hit him in the face. When his companions reminded him of their warning saying they had feared this, he replied, "These enemies of Allah were never more pitiful in my sight than before. If you wished, I could repeat this tomorrow." They said, "No. This is enough. You have forced them to hear what they were unwilling to hear."³⁹¹

'Uthmān bin 'Affān's uncle would wrap him up in a mat made from palm leaves and then smoke him.³⁹² It is said that when he embraced Islam, his uncle Hakam bin Abu 'Ās bin Umaiyyah caught him and tied him up swearing that he would not release him until he had forsaken his new religion. So 'Uthmān ؓ also swore that he would never give up his religion. When his uncle saw his firmness in his religion, he abandoned him.³⁹³

When Mus'ab's mother learned of her son's Islam, she starved him and then threw him out of the house. He was one of those who had been brought up in luxuries. He dried up until his friends carried him on bows because of his weakness.³⁹⁴

They also attempted to punish 'Umar bin Khattāb ؓ when he

Ibn Kathir traced it here through Khaythamah the Tarabulusi (250-343, AH). See *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah*, edited by 'Abdus-Salām Tadmuri, p. 125. I could not locate the first two narrators of this report. As for Muhammad bin 'Imrān Taymi, the third in line, Abu Hātim wrote about him in *Al-Jarhu wat-Ta'dil* (8/41) that he was an impressive person. As for 'Ubaydullah bin Ishāq Taymi, Ibn Hibbān mentioned him as trustworthy (7/142). However, his own acceptance is not accepted without a second scholar agreeing with him. As regards 'Abdullah bin Muhammad bin 'Imrān Taymi, Khatib Baghdādi mentioned him in *Tārikh Baghdād* (10/62) without criticizing him. In short, this report has not come to us through a reliable chain.

³⁹¹ Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain; through 'Urwah bin Zubayr. See: *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 186.

³⁹² Mansurpuri: *Rahmatul-lil-'Ālamin* (1/52), however, we could not trace out Mansurpuri's source.

³⁹³ *Ibn Sa'd* (3/55) quoting from Wāqidi.

³⁹⁴ Ibn Ishāq, the *Sirat*, p. 193, with a Weak (*Da'if*) chain.

embraced Islam. Ultimately they tried to kill him but the attempt failed because Allāh saved him at the hands of 'Ās bin Wā'il.³⁹⁵

'Uthmān bin Maz'ūn ؓ was also one of those who were tortured. When he returned from his first migration journey to Abyssinia, he was taken in protection by Walid bin Mughirah. But when he saw how others were being tortured, he rejected his protection. Labid bin Rabi'ah, the poet, visited Makkah. He recited his poetry in a Quraysh assembly. When Labid said, "Lo. Everything is false save Allāh," 'Uthmān said, "You spoke the truth." When Labid said, "And every blessing has to end," Uthmān remarked, "That's not true. Blessings of Paradise will be eternal." Labid was upset. He complained, "O Quraysh. Your guest had never been insulted before." One of those present said, "This is one of those idiots who have abandoned their religion. So, don't take him too serious." 'Uthmān took the liberty to reply. An argument ensued and the man boxed 'Uthman so hard that one of his eyes was blackened. When Walid bin Mughirah saw him in that state he said, "My nephew. You could have saved your eye the trouble if you had remained in my protection." 'Uthmān replied, "I am in the protection of the One Who is more honorable and powerful than you are, O Abu 'Abd Shams." Walid said, "Take it easy. If you wish you can come back to my protection." 'Uthmān said no.³⁹⁶

Similarly, Zubayr bin 'Awwām ؓ was tortured by his uncle who would tie up a mat to him and set it smoking, saying, "Abandon the new religion." Zubayr would reply, "I shall never do that."³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ This will be mentioned when reporting the story of 'Umar ؓ embracing Islam through a *Hasan* chain being a report of Ibn Ishāq.

³⁹⁶ Reported by Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain— *Ibn Hishām* (2/10-12); Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (2/292-293) through Musa bin 'Uqbah. Musa bin 'Uqbah however did not mention his source. Also recorded by Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir* (9/21-24) as a Disconnected (*Mursal*) *Hadith* from 'Urwah. This one has Ibn Lahiy'ah in the chain. Haythami quoted from him in the *Majma'* (6/32-34). Nonetheless, all these chains are weak, but they indicate that the story has an origin.

³⁹⁷ Hākim: *Al-Mustadrak* (3/360). But both Hākim and Dhahabi did not issue their opinion about it. In it falls Abu Aswad, who used to drop some names. So, the report is a *Mursal* one coming down from 'Urwah. See Abu Nu'aym in the *Hilyah* (1/89) with a *Mursal* chain of trustworthy narrators.

Abu Jahl locked up his own brother Salamah bin Hishām bin Mughirah when he returned from Abyssinian emigration. He also denied him food. Salamah managed to escape some twelve years later, when the Prophet ﷺ was in the fifth year of his migration. Salamah joined him during the battle of the Ditch. Ibn Sa'd has reported this in his *At-Tabaqāt* (4/130) as has Dhahabi in his *Tārīkhul-Islam*. It is this Salamah bin Hishām for whose release the Prophet ﷺ used to supplicate in his special prayers (*Qunūt*) at Madinah.

Makkah in fact was not the only place where Muslims were tortured. Some of those who had embraced Islam from the desert tribes were meted out the same treatment. Ibn Sa'd³⁹⁸ has recorded that when Umm Sharik Ghuzayyah bint Jābir bin Hākim embraced Islam along with her husband, and her husband migrated along with Abu Hurayrah and a few others, her husband's people came to her and asked her if she too was on the religion of her husband. When she said yes, they swore that they would punish her. So, whenever they traveled from one place to another, they put her on top of the wildest mount. Then they would give her some bread and honey but withhold water from her. Once they left her in the desert until she lost her sense. She could hardly hear or see. They repeated this for three days. On the third day they again demanded that she give up her religion. She couldn't speak out anything because of what she was passing through. She only pointed her finger to the heaven meaning "One God." Then Allāh sent her a bucket of water as a miracle. That became the reason for the Islam of her husband's people, all of whom chose to migrate to the Prophet ﷺ.

Abu Dharr Ghifāri is another case in point. When he entered into Makkah looking for the Prophet ﷺ, he was beaten up by the Makkans so severely that he fainted. He would have all but died if 'Abbās bin 'Abdul-Muttalib had not intervened.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸ *At-Tabaqāt* (8/155-157) being a narration of Wāqidi who was abandoned and hence the chain is very weak.

³⁹⁹ This is a part of a *Hadith* that tells the story of how Abu Dharr ؓ embraced Islam. By consensus: *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/33/H. 3522) and *Muslim* (4/1920/H. 2473) and (4/1923-1924/H. 2474).

(xiii) Torture of the Slaves

The pagans let loose their utmost fury against the slaves because they had no one to protect them. They were subjected to the severest kind of tortures.

These poor souls went through such harsh treatment that Allāh (ﷻ) allowed them to speak out disbelief, if the pain went beyond endurance. Sa'eed bin Jubayr asked Ibn 'Abbās if the torture inflicted by the pagans on the slaves had reached such level that they were allowed to say out what would help them escape. He replied, "Yes, very much so. By Allāh. One of them was beaten up so hard, kept hungry and thirsty for so long, that he was unable to sit upright. In that state they would say out whatever was asked of them. They'd be asked, 'Are Lāt and 'Uzza deities besides Allāh or not?' They'd say in reply, 'Yes, they are.' They said that only to escape further torture."⁴⁰⁰ Ibn Kathir⁴⁰¹ has said that it is about these that Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿مَنْ كَفَرَ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ بَعْدِ إِيمَانِهِ إِلَّا مَنْ أُكْرِهَ وَقَلْبُهُ مُطْمَئِنٌّ بِالْإِيمَانِ وَلَكِنْ مَنْ شَرَحَ بِالْكُفْرِ صَدْرًا فَعَلَيْهِمْ غَضَبٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾

"Whoever disbelieved in Allāh after his faith, except one who is forced, although his heart is filled with faith, (such men are excused) but not someone who is quite at ease with disbelief; upon such is Allāh's anger and for them is a great punishment."

Ibn Mas'ūd (رضي الله عنه) said, "The first seven who announced their Islam were: The Prophet, Abu Bakr, 'Ammār and his mother Sumaiyah, Suhayb, Bilāl and Miqdād. As for the Prophet (ﷺ), he was protected

⁴⁰⁰ Reported by Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (1/396). He specifically mentioned having heard it from him. However, in his chain falls Hākim bin Jubayr who was weak as Ibn Hajar said in *At-Taqrīb*, p. 176, and Ibn Kathir quoted it in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/65) through Ibn Ishāq using this chain.

⁴⁰¹ *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/65). And the concerned Verse is from *Surat An-Nahl*: 106.

by his uncle. As for Abu Bakr, his tribesmen prevented his torture. But for the rest, the pagans seized them. They made them wear steel coat of arms and placed them in the sun. Then there wasn't one of them but who gave them what they wanted of the words, except Bilāl. He showed no respect to his body in the way of Allāh. And he showed no respect to his torturers. Finally, they handed him over to the urchins who dragged him around (with a rope in his neck) in the valleys of Makkah while he kept saying, 'One. One.'⁴⁰²

Yāsir's Family

This family is cited as an example in history works of what people had to go through in defense of their faith. Banu Makhzum would bring them out into the hot sun at noon and torture them there.⁴⁰³

Once the Prophet (ﷺ) passed by them while they were undergoing tortures. He said, "Good news to you, O family of Yāsir. Your abode is in Paradise."⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰² Reported by Ahmad in *Al-Musnad* (5/319/H. 3832/Shākir). Shākir said: "Its chain is *Sahih*." Dhahabi mentioned it in the *Sirat*, pp. 217-218, and said: "It is a *Sahih Hadith*." He traced it in other ways and therefore one might look into him if interested. Dhahabi also mentioned it in his *Sirat*, p. 317-318, and said, "A trustworthy *Hadith*." Hākim traced it in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/284) and said that its chain is *Sahih*. Dhahabi agreed with him. Abu Nu'aym also recorded it in *Al-Hilyah* (1/149) as also Ibn Mājah: *Sahih Sunan Ibn Mājah* (1/30, Albāni). Albāni said: *Hasan*. Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (2/281-282) and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/64) where he said: "Thawri reported it from Mansur through Mujāhid as a *Disconnected (Mursal)* report."

⁴⁰³ Ibn Hishām (1/395) as a narration of Ibn Ishāq without a chain. As regards his drowning in water, see *Sirat Ibn Ishāq*, p. 192, the *Hadith* of Ibn Sirin.

⁴⁰⁴ Reported by Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/388) as Jābir's *Hadith*. He said: "*Sahih* according to Muslim's conditions." Dhahabi agreed to it. But the two verifiers of *Sirat Ibn Hishām* were confused when they said that Dhahabi had no comments about it—*Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/395). Haythami also mentioned it in the *Majma'* (9/293) and said: "Reported by Tabarāni in *Al-Awsāt*, and its narrators are trustworthy." Albāni described it as *Sahih* and *Hasan*, as in the footnote of *Fihi-Sirah* by Ghazālī, pp. 107-108.

It was from this family that the first martyr in Islam emerged. It was 'Ammār's mother, Sumaiyah bin Khaiyāt. Abu Jahl threw at her a javelin that struck her under the navel and she died on the spot.⁴⁰⁵

Yāsir died due to tortures. His son 'Abdullah was hit with a weapon.⁴⁰⁶ He too died. 'Ammār was kept in tortures, until they forced him to speak out words of disbelief. Most commentators⁴⁰⁷ of the Qur'ān are of opinion that the Verse:

﴿مَنْ كَفَرَ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ بَعْدِ إِيْمَانِهِ إِلَّا مَنْ أُكْرِهَ وَقَلْبُهُ مُطْمَئِنٌّ
بِالْإِيْمَانِ...﴾

"Whoever disbelieved in Allāh after his faith, except one who is

It was also reported by Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (1/395) and its words are: "Be patient O house of Yāsir, for Paradise is your destiny." Dhahabi mentioned it in his *Sirat*, p. 218, through Hishām Dastuwā'i, he from Abu Zubayr and he from Jābir. However, Abu Zubayr is known for dropping the name of the Companions, while sometimes he narrated through unknown persons. However, what of the reports we have brought, strengthen the report of Abu Zubayr, raising it to the level of *Hasan li Ghayrihi*. See *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/220).

⁴⁰⁵ Reported by Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (1/404, through a *Mursal* report of Mujāhid. Bayhaqi reported by the same route in *Dalā'il* (2/282); and Dhahabi in *As-Siratun-Nabawiyyah*, p. 218. Ibn Ishāq also reported it—*Ibn Hishām* (1/395). Therein are the words, "As for his mother Umm Yāsir, they killed her, while she refused anything but Islam." The report is in *Al-Isābah* (35/648), under the biography of Yāsir Absi and (4/334), biography of Sumaiyah; Balādhuri: *Ansābul-Ashraf*.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibn Hajar said that in *Al-Isābah* (3/648) and he attributed it to Kalbi's son, under the *Tafsir* coming from Abu Sālih, and he from Ibn 'Abbās. However, in *Hadith*, Ibn Kalbi stands rejected.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibn Jawzi mentioned four opinions in *Az-Zād* (4/495) about whom this Verse was revealed. One opinion is that it was in reference to 'Ammār bin Yāsir. This was reported by Mujāhid through Ibn 'Abbās. So said Qatādah. Ibn Kathir said in his *Tafsir* (4/525): "This is what Sha'bi, Abu Mālik and Qatādah said." Then he added that 'Awfa also transmitted from Ibn 'Abbās that this was revealed in connection with 'Ammār.

As for Ibn Jarir, who quoted through Abu 'Ubaydah bin Muhammad bin 'Ammār bin Yāsir. As for his words viz., "The pagans took 'Ammār bin

forced but his heart is at rest with faith,"⁴⁰⁸

was revealed in reference to 'Ammār bin Yāsir.⁴⁰⁹

Bilāl

Bilāl was a slave of the Banu Jumah. He was the son of Rabāh. His mother was called Hamāmah. He was said to be an Abyssinian. Some say he was from Nubia.⁴¹⁰

He was a man of pure heart and a true faith. His master Umaiya bin Khalaf would bring him out into the open at mid-afternoon, throw him on the ground, and place a rock on his chest. He would say, "You'll lie there and die, or deny Muhammad and

Yāsir and tortured him until he came close to uttering what they desired of him. So he inquired with the Prophet ﷺ. The Prophet ﷺ asked him, 'How do you find your heart?' He said, 'Satisfied with faith.' The Prophet ﷺ told him, 'If they repeat, you also repeat.'" Albāni declared this report for the reasons that it does not reach the Prophet ﷺ. But he thought that report as *Sahih* which deals with the question of 'Ammār bin Yāsir as the cause of revelation. For, it came through several ways, which all were traced by Ibn Jarir. See footnotes to *Fiqhus-Sirah* of Ghazālī, p. 108. The examination of the *Hadith's* transmission has worthy points of note. So, one may look at them. We have forsaken it, among many others at different places, both Albāni's as well as others, for reasons of length.

⁴⁰⁸ *Surat An-Nahl*: 106.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (9/281): "'Ammār was an Arab from the tribe of 'Ansi, who was not taken as a slave, but his father took to dwelling in Makkah. He allied himself to Banu Makhzum. They made him marry Sumaiyah who was one of their freed slaves. She gave birth to 'Ammār. It is possible therefore that the polytheists treated 'Ammār the way they did because his mother was a former slave.

Ibn Ishāq said in *Sirat* p. 192: "Yāsir was a slave of Banu Bakr of Banu Ashja'. They bought him from them and made him marry Sumaiyah the mother of 'Ammār. Then they freed both Sumaiyah as well as 'Ammār." See his life in biography works.

⁴¹⁰ Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (14/248) the Book on the *Fadā'il Ashābun-Nabi* ﷺ, chapter: The Virtues of Bilāl bin Rabāh. As regards his being captive during the pre-Islamic times, see the narration of *Al-Bukhārī* (9/280-281/The Book of *Buyu'*). The chapter content is, however a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report.

come back to the worship of Lāt and 'Uzza. Bilāl would reply, "One, One."⁴¹¹

Balādhuri⁴¹² has a report of 'Amr bin Ās, "I saw Bilāl being tortured in the desert. If a piece of meat was kept on him it would have got fried. But Bilāl was saying, 'I deny Lāt and 'Uzza.' That angered Umaiyyah. He went on increasing the torture until Bilāl fell unconscious."

Balādhuri⁴¹³ has also reported through Mujāhid: "They tied a rope around Bilāl's neck and ordered the urchins to drag him around in Makkan valleys. While dragged around, Bilāl would only say, "One, One."

Balādhuri⁴¹⁴ also reports Bilāl ؓ as having said, "Once they kept me thirsty for a day and night and then took me out on a hot day into the desert to torture me."

When Abu Bakr ؓ saw him in that state, he bargained his price, bought him and freed him. Ibn Abu Shaybah⁴¹⁵ and

⁴¹¹ Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/392). But this *Hadith* is supported by Ibn Mas'ūd's which was mentioned previously and which is a *Sahih Hadith*.

⁴¹² *Ansābul-Ashrāf* (1/185).

⁴¹³ *Ibid*.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid* (1/186).

⁴¹⁵ Ibn Hajar said this in *Al-Fath* (4/248). Ibn 'Abdul-Barr reported it in *Al-Isti'āb* (2/34) with a Strong (*Qawi*) chain as Dhahabi said in *Siyar A'lām An-Nubala'* (1/353). See it traced in *Al-Qasimiyah*, p. 367. Ibn Hajar stated other opinions in connection with his freedom: *Al-Fath* (9/281). Ibn Jawzi mentioned in *Az-Zād* (9/146) the reason behind the revelation of this Verse: "Certainly, your efforts are diverse." One is the *Hadith* of Ibn Mas'ūd to the effect that Abu Bakr bought Bilāl for a garment and ten coins of silver. He also said that Wāhidi reported it in *Asbābun-Nuzul*, p. 335. Suyuti also reported it in *Ad-Durr* (6/358) as a narration of Ibn Abu Hātim while Ibn 'Asākir quoted through Ibn Mas'ūd. Baghawi and Khāzin mentioned it without a chain. Ibn 'Abdul-Barr quoted several *Ahādith* in connection with his purchase. One might see it in *Al-Isti'āb* (1/32-34). They are Disconnected (*Mursal*) reports that strengthen each other. They have been traced out in *Al-Qasimiyah*, pp. 368-369. There are a few other reports that the writer of *Al-Qasimiyah* has traced from other books. See pp. 370-372.

Balādhuri⁴¹⁶ have reported through trustworthy chain of narrators that Abu Bakr bought him for fifty pieces of silver while he lay buried under a heap of stones."⁴¹⁷

Khabbāb bin Aratt ؓ

His full name was Khabbāb bin Aratt bin Jandalah bin Sa'd bin Khuzaymah ... bin Tamim Tamimi. Some say he was Khuzā'i.⁴¹⁸ He was enslaved in the pre-Islamic days and sold out in Makkah. But there are conflicting reports. In any case, under the sponsorship of Banu Zuhrah he worked as a smith. He specialized in sword-making.⁴¹⁹ He was one of the earliest to embrace Islam.

As he embraced Islam he encountered a variety of difficulties affecting his person and financial situation like several other weak Muslims.⁴²⁰ They pulled him by his hair, twisted his head hard, and placed him on hot rocks with stones on him making him unable to rise.⁴²¹ Once they lit a fire and flung him on to it. It was his back which put that fire out. Long after, he showed his burnt back to 'Umar bin Khattāb ؓ.⁴²² He also told him that they used to make

⁴¹⁶ *Ansābul-Ashrāf* (1/186).

⁴¹⁷ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/249/H. 5537). Ibn Ishāq reported through a *Hasan* chain that he exchanged him against a black boy—*Ibn Hishām* (1/393).

⁴¹⁸ *Ibn Hishām* mentioned it without a chain (1/319). See it in *Al-Isābah* (1/416).

⁴¹⁹ This was mentioned in his story with 'Ās bin Wā'il. See *Al-Bukhārī*, *Muslim* and others as we shall discuss presently.

⁴²⁰ See Ahmad: *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (1/182) — a *Hadith* of Ibn Mas'ūd ؓ which was mentioned earlier. It was mentioned that Khabbāb ؓ was one of those taken by the polytheists and tortured by covering their bodies with metallic shields and steel shirts, then throwing them on hot rocks. Ibn Sa'd (3/165) mentioned that he was one of those who were deemed weak and tortured. Its transmission chain is Disconnected (*Mursal*) but all other transmitters are trustworthy except Wāqidi. Abu Nu'aym mentioned this in the *Hilyah* (1/143) through an authentic chain as demonstrated by the writer of *Qasimiyah*, p. 375.

⁴²¹ Ibn Jawzi: *Talqih Fuhum Ahlil-Athar*, p. 60.

⁴²² Abu Nu'aym reported it in *Hilyah* (1/144) with a *Mursal* chain coming through Sha'bi. If Sha'bi's hearing from Khabbāb is proven true, then the *Hadith* will be fully connected and hence authentic. But at the moment the

him lie down on hot rocks. But, despite all that, his tormentors got nothing out of him.⁴²³

His encounter with 'Ās bin Wā'il is well known. Preserved by Bukhārī⁴²⁴ and Muslim,⁴²⁵ it reports Khabbāb as saying, "I was a blacksmith in Makkah. I had made a sword for 'Ās bin Wā'il. I went up to him seeking my money. He told me, 'I will not pay up until you have denounced Muhammad.' I said, 'I am not going to deny him until Allāh deals you death and then raises you again.' He said, 'If Allāh killed me and then raised me again, and if I happened to have wealth and offspring, then perhaps I'll pay up.'" So Allāh revealed:

﴿أَفَرَأَيْتَ الَّذِي كَفَرَ بِآيَاتِنَا وَقَالَ لَأُوتِيَنَّكَ مَالًا وَوَلَدًا ۖ أَطَّلَعَ الْغَيْبَ أَمِ أَخَذَ عِنْدَ الرَّحْمَنِ عَهْدًا﴾

"Have you considered the man who denies Our signs and says, 'I shall surely be given wealth and children.' Has he the knowledge of the Unseen or has he made a pact with the All-Merciful?"⁴²⁶

Hadith is *Hasan* because of the problems as discussed in connection with his torture. Ibn Sa'd mentioned in *At-Tabaqāt* (3/165) as a Hadith of Abu Layla Kindi that Khabbāb showed 'Umar some marks on his back caused by the torture of the polytheists. Its chain is of *Hasan* grade. Ibn Mājah reported this Hadith in his *Sunan*/Foreword (153). And its transmission chain is reliable as said Busiri in his *Zawā'id*. Albāni also treated it authentic: *Sahih Sunan Ibn Mājah* (1/13/H. 153). He also hinted at it in one of his works that has not yet seen the light of the day: *Sahihus-Siratur-Nabawiyyah*. For rest of the reports see in Balādhuri: *Ansābul-Ashraf* (1/175-179). Balādhuri also reported from this very origin (1/176) that he was named Aratt because of his stammering when he spoke the Arabic language.

⁴²³ Abu Nu'aym reported it in *Hilyah* (1/144) with a *Sahih* chain.

⁴²⁴ *Al-Fath* (18/31/H. 4733), also see other reports in the same chapter. The words here are those of Bukhārī.

⁴²⁵ *Muslim* (4/2153/H. 2795). *Al-Bukhārī* has several reports of the same meaning. The story was mentioned by Ibn Ishāq without a chain; and *Ahmad* (5/110), and *At-Tirmidhi* (8/308-309). See: *Sahihut-Tirmidhi* (3/76/H. 3385). Albāni said, "Agreed upon." He also signals what we have pointed out.

⁴²⁶ *Surat Maryam*: 77-78.

When their torment became unbearable Khabbāb and other weak Muslims complained to the Prophet ﷺ.⁴²⁷ He was resting under the shadow of the Ka'bah. They said to him, "Will you not help us? Will you not pray for us?" He replied, "There were men among the previous nations for one of whom they'd dig a hole in the ground (and bury him). They'd then bring a saw and slit his head into two. But that would not deter him from his religion. Another would have steel combs reaching his bones tearing off his flesh and muscles, but that would not deter him from his religion. By Allāh. This affair will end with a rider riding from San'a' to Hadramaut with none to fear except either Allāh, or wolves on his sheep. But you are hasty."

Other Unsupported Slaves

Of the unsupported ones, the following were some: Hamāmah-Bilāl's mother, 'Āmir bin Fuhayrah, Umm 'Ubays, Zinnirah, Nahdiyyah and her daughter, a slave-girl of Banu 'Adi whom 'Umar bin Khattāb used to beat up before he himself embraced the faith.⁴²⁸ Abu Bakr gradually freed all those mentioned above.⁴²⁹

When Abu Quhāfah saw his son freeing these (physically) weak slaves, he objected saying, "My son. The slaves you free are weak ones. If you freed the strong ones, they would help and support you later." Abu Bakr replied, "Father. My objective is Allāh's Pleasure." It was in connection with this that the following Verses were revealed which said,

﴿فَأَمَّا مَنْ أَعْطَى وَانْتَفَى ۖ وَصَدَّقَ بِالْحُسْنَى ۖ فَسَنِيَرُهُ لِلْيُسْرَى ۖ﴾

"As for him who gave, feared, and acknowledged the good, for him We shall ease the path of ease..."

⁴²⁷ *Al-Fath* (14/113-114/H. 3612).

⁴²⁸ See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Fusul fi Ikhtisār Siratur-Rasul*, p. 87, Ibn Hishām (1/393-394) being a report of Ibn Ishāq without a chain. It was mentioned earlier that Abu Bakr had freed Bilāl.

⁴²⁹ See Ibn Hishām (1/394) that has a report from Ibn Ishāq without a chain; and *Sirat Ibn Ishāq*, p. 191, also without a chain, as also Balādhuri: *Ansābul-Ashraf* (1/158, 190, 194, 196).

until the words,

﴿وَمَا لِأَحَدٍ عِنْدَهُ مِنْ نِعْمَةٍ تُجْرَىٰ ۖ إِلَّا ابْتِغَاءَ وَجْهِ رَبِّهِ الْأَعْلَىٰ﴾ ٢٠ ﴿وَلَسَوْفَ يَرْضَىٰ﴾

"And he has none to please from the good act that he does, except that he seeks the Face of his Lord, the Exalted. And soon he shall be pleased."^{430,431}

It should so happen that Zannirah lost her eyesight after Abu Bakr had helped her win freedom. The disbelievers began to taunt her that her eyesight was taken away by Lāt and 'Uzza. She said, "By Allāh and His House, they are liars. Lāt and A'Uzza can neither harm a person nor benefit him." Allāh (ﷺ) restored her eyesight.⁴³²

Aflah, also known as Abu Fukayhah, was a slave of the 'Abdud-Dār family. They would tie up his legs with a rope and drag him on the earth to torment him.⁴³³

Lessons

1. Someone might ask, "Why did the Prophet ﷺ and his early

⁴³⁰ Surat Al-Layl: 5-21.

⁴³¹ Al-Mustadrak (2/525) reporting a Hadith of Ziyād bin 'Abdullah Bakkā'i, who quoted Ibn Ishāq. Hākim said: "This Hadith is Sahih according to Muslim's requirements." Although both did not record it. Dhahabi made no comments on this statement. Ibn Ishāq also reported it as it can be found with Ibn Hishām (1/394) in As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi, (pp. 191-192) with an Interrupted (Munqati') chain. It is the same chain however that Hākim presented as complete. Wāhidi reported it in causes behind revelation, p. 336, being a Hadith of Ibrāhīm bin Sa'd reporting Muhammad bin Ishāq. Suyuti reported it in Ad-Durr (6/308) as a narration of Ibn Jābir and referred it to Ibn 'Asākir. See also Zādul-Masir (9/148) in the footnote of the verifiers.

⁴³² This was reported by Ibn Ishāq with a Hasan and a Mursal chain, others have also reported this without continuation, see Ibn Hishām (1/392-393) and Sirat Ibn Ishāq, p. 191, and Dhahabi: The Sirat, p. 218.

⁴³³ Ibn Hajar: Al-Isābah (4/156) Biography of Abu Fukayhah no. 907) without a chain.

Companions have to undergo the tortures? Why didn't Allāh save His soldiers and His Prophet ﷺ from it?" The first answer is that man is a responsible being in this life. He is required to spread the word of Islam and struggle to establish the truth. This is a requirement that man cannot escape from, being what he is: Allāh's slave. The Qur'ān has said,

﴿وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ﴾

"We have not created men and jinn but to worship Me."⁴³⁴

This responsibility and devotion to Allāh require that man bear the difficulties and tortures when they come along.

Trials and tribulations are the means by which the true and the false can be distinguished. Allāh (ﷺ) said

﴿الَمْ ۙ أَحْسِبَ النَّاسَ أَنْ يَتْرَكُوا أَنْ يَقُولُوا ءَامَنَّا وَهُمْ لَا يُفْتَنُونَ ۚ وَلَقَدْ فَتَنَّا الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ فَلَيَعْلَمَنَّ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ صَدَقُوا وَلَيَعْلَمَنَّ الْكَاذِبِينَ﴾

"Alif. Lām. Mim. Do the people reckon that they will be left alone if they said, 'We have believed' and they will not be tried? Verily We tried those that went before them. Surely, Allāh will distinguish between the truthful and the false."⁴³⁵

He also said:

﴿أَمْ حَسِبْتُمْ أَنْ تَدْخُلُوا الْجَنَّةَ وَلَمَّا يَعْلَمِ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ جَاهَدُوا مِنْكُمْ وَيَعْلَمِ الصَّابِرِينَ﴾

"Do you reckon that you will enter Paradise when Allāh has not yet made known those who struggled and has not yet made known those who are patient?"⁴³⁶

The above being the realities, a Muslim should never despair when faced with some trials. In fact, the opposite is true. Muslims ought to congratulate each other whenever faced with trials and

⁴³⁴ Surat Adh-Dhāriyāt: 56.

⁴³⁵ Surat Al-'Ankabut: 1-3.

⁴³⁶ Surat Āl 'Imrān: 142.

tribulations hoping that such things would make achievement of their goals surer and faster. This is clear from Allāh's Words:

﴿أَمْ حَسِبْتُمْ أَنْ تُدْخِلُوا الْجَنَّةَ وَلَمَّا يَأْتِكُمْ مَثَلُ الَّذِينَ خَلَوْا مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ مَسْتَهْمُونَ
الْبِئْسَ لِلْفَاسِقِ أَصْحَابُ الْأَنْفُسِ الْأُولَىٰ وَالَّذِينَ أَمْنُوا مَعَهُ مَتَىٰ نَصْرُ اللَّهِ ۚ إِنَّ نَصْرَ اللَّهِ قَرِيبٌ﴾

"Do you reckon you will enter Paradise when the like of what visited those before you has not yet come to you? They were visited by evils, and pain, and were shaken until the Messenger and his men cried out, 'When will be Allāh's help?' Lo. Allāh's help is near at hand?"^{437,438}

2. Scholars agree between themselves that when faced with hardships, one could opt to choose the difficult option rather than the easy way out. It is also agreed that it is better, especially for the scholars and leaders, to choose the difficult option rather than the easy one.⁴³⁹ Further, it is also agreed that the common people taking the easy way out is not a sign of their weakness in faith. This is deduced from the Prophet's advice to 'Ammār bin Yāsir, "If they repeat (the tortures) you may repeat (the words of disbelief)." In other words, he told him to speak out words in praise of the pagan deities so long as his heart was steady with true faith.⁴⁴⁰

Says Ibn Kathir,⁴⁴¹ "Scholars are one in opinion that it is

⁴³⁷ Surah Al-Baqarah: 214.

⁴³⁸ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 85-87.

⁴³⁹ See Mawsili: *Al-Ikhtiyāru li-Ta'lilil-Mukhtārī fil-Fiqhil-Hanafī* (2/104), a Dar Al-Ma'rifah print, Beirut. Taken from Shaykh Zuhayr Sālim: *Atharāt wa Saqātāt*, p. 438.

⁴⁴⁰ See Shaykh Zuhayr Sālim, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁴¹ See: *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (4/525-526). Habib bin Zayd bin 'Asim bin 'Umar Ansāri Muzani was the son of the great Muslim lady Umm 'Umārah, Nusaibah bint Ka'b Muzaniyyah. (See *Isābah*, 1/306-307). He was one of those who took the pledge during the second 'Aqabah Pledge. His story in connection with Musaylimah was reported by Ibn Ishāq through a chain rated *Hasan li Dhātihi* (*Ibn Hishām*, 2/120). It says that Musaylimah got hold of him but not how. Ibn 'Abdul-Barr said in *Isti'āb* on the margin of

allowed for a Muslim undergoing tortures to say words that will help him escape punishment, as it is also allowed that he stay firm, uncompromising, as Bilāl ؓ did, despite the tortures. We have another example in Habib bin Zayd Ansāri. When Musaylimah the Liar asked, "Do you bear witness that Muhammad is a Messenger?" He would reply, "Yes." But when he asked, "Do you bear witness that I am Allāh's Messenger?" Zayd would reply, "I can't hear." Musaylimah cut him into pieces but he stayed firm. The important thing of course is that at heart a Muslim remains firm on his religion, even if that leads to death—as Ibn 'Asākir has said in the biographical sketch of 'Abdullah bin Hudhāfah Sahmi."

On the same topic, Ibn Jawzi has said,⁴⁴² "It is allowed that one speak out the word of disbelief (when tortured). From Ahmad we have two reports on this issue. One of them says that if a man fears his life or limb, he might speak out words of disbelief. A second condition is that the threats should take active form. In that situation, it is allowed to dissemble disbelief, although it is preferable that one doesn't take that option."

Obviously, there are kinds and varieties of believers. In accordance with the weakness or strength of their trust in Allāh, their reactions will also vary. History will not send into oblivion the example that the first generation Muslims set for the rest of the Ummah for all times and place.

The enemies of Islam will never, in any place, at any time, desist from employing any means to put out the light of Islam and destroy its message and its bearers. But, surely, they won't be able to employ any means that the Quraysh did not employ against the weak Makkan Muslims. It will consume a lengthy space to describe all the varieties of torture that were employed. We mentioned a few by way of illustration to demonstrate what happens when Islam stands up against those deviant societies that refuse to accept the Divine guidance.

Isābah (1/328) that the Prophet ﷺ had sent him to Musaylimah the Liar. But he did not write the chain and we do not have a confirmed report about it.

⁴⁴² *Zādul-Masir*, (4/496).

It was by the wisdom of Allāh (ﷺ) that the Quraysh should repeatedly seek to reach a compromise solution with the Prophet ﷺ over whatever aims and objectives they thought he secretly harbored behind his ostensible prophetic call. The Prophet's refusal to accept every offer that was made to him went to demonstrate and for the historical records, that he had no objectives in mind, save a single one, viz., the establishment of Islam. In this way all the roads and passages for the doubters and skeptics were closed. His uncompromising attitude during the course of years that followed also confirmed that he had no other objective save the establishment of Islam.⁴⁴³

(xiv) Efforts to Check Muslim Migration

When some of the Muslims migrated to Abyssinia, the Quraysh sent teams behind them to prevent their entry into the land of their desire. And when the Muslims succeeded in entering it, and establishing themselves in sizable numbers, they sent a delegation to try and get them back.

They even tried to bribe the Abyssinian ruler Najāshi and went as far as playing a trick on him, but failed in their efforts. The details of this will come later when we speak of migration.

(xv) Boycott

We shall speak of this also a little later. (See section 'General Boycott' in the next pages).

(xvi) Efforts at Assassination of the Prophet ﷺ

This also will be dealt with in later chapters.

The Meeting Place of the Prophet ﷺ and His Companions

The Prophet ﷺ used to meet secretly with the early converts in

⁴⁴³ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 90.

order to pass on the latest revelations that he had received. By the fifth year of his commissioning, he had chosen the house of one of his followers for this purpose. It was the house of Arqam bin Arqam.⁴⁴⁴ This meeting place was kept secret because several early converts had kept their faith secret.⁴⁴⁵ This shows that when the interests of Islam and Muslims require such a measure, there is no harm in resorting to it. This policy of secrecy is in fact, quite a recurring theme in the life of the Prophet ﷺ.

As to the question why the Prophet ﷺ chose that particular place, Mubārakpuri⁴⁴⁶ has answered that Arqam was not known as a Muslim. He was of the Banu Makhzum who competed with and opposed Banu Hāshim in many things. Therefore, no one would suspect that the Prophet ﷺ was conducting meetings in the heart of the enemy's stronghold. Further, Arqam was just about 16 when he embraced Islam. Nobody would guess that meetings would be held in his house in preference to other known important Muslims.

It might also be noted that Arqam's house was near Mount Safa, normally a crowded place. It was difficult to notice people's movements and guess that a meeting was taking place somewhere around. Even when the pagans suspected that the Muslims were meeting somewhere, all they could guess was that they probably met somewhere around Mount Safa.⁴⁴⁷

As pointed out earlier, the efforts at secrecy were very

⁴⁴⁴ Dārul-Arqam is now known as Dārul-Khayzurān at Safa, as mentioned by Shāmi in his *Subul* (2/430). Major General Ibrāhim Rif'at Pasha said in *Mir'at-ul-Haramayn* (1/1992), "This house lies in an alley that lies on the left side to the one ascending Safa. Its door opens to the east through which one enters into an open space of about 8 meter length.

⁴⁴⁵ See the story of Abu Bakr's sermon in the Haram and the pagans beating him. It says that Umm Jamil, daughter of Khattāb denied any knowledge of Abu Bakr or the Prophet ﷺ and the whereabouts of Abu Bakr, see *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* 3/33-34).

⁴⁴⁶ *Ar-Rahiq Al-Makhtum*, p. 49. I would say between 17 and 19 as mentioned by Ibn Sa'd (3/244).

⁴⁴⁷ See: Ibn Ishāq without a chain—Ibn Hishām (1/424) and Isfahāni: *Al-Ma'rifah* (2/378).

commonly employed by the Prophet ﷺ throughout his life. This being another case in point.

The First Emigration to Abyssinia

Persecutions of the minor type had begun by the middle of the fourth year after the Prophet's commissioning. But it gathered heat day after day, month after month. By the middle of the fifth year it became unbearable to stay in Makkah. So the Muslims seriously began to consider ways by which they could escape the tortures. It was during those difficult days that the Qur'ānic chapter *Al-Kahf* was revealed in reply to a few questions that the pagans had raised. It comprised three stories, all of which contained subtle hints from Allāh to those who had believed in Him. The story of the sleepers in the Cave hinted at the Muslims that they could migrate from the pagan concentrated places if they feared their faith. One of the passages said:

﴿وَإِذِ اعْتَزَلْتُمُوهُمْ وَمَا يَعْبُدُونَ إِلَّا اللَّهَ فَأَوْفُوا إِلَى الْكَهْفِ يَنْشُرْ لَكُمْ رَبُّكُمْ مِنْ رَحْمَتِهِ وَيَهَيِّئْ لَكُمْ مِنْ أَمْرِكُمْ مَرْفَقًا﴾

“(The youths told each other) And when you have sought to distance yourself from them and what they worship apart from Allāh, then retreat to the Cave. Allāh will spread out for you His mercy and prepare your affairs with facility.”⁴⁴⁸

The story of Musa and Khidr conveyed the message that it is not at all necessary that the succession of events should not lead to normal consequences. Sometimes the consequences can be entirely different from what is apparent. In this was concealed the subtle message that the war that will be waged against Muslims by pagans will have entirely unexpected results, and soon the tyrannous Quraysh—if they didn't believe—would be seized by those very Muslims who were so weak at the beginning that they were expelled.

⁴⁴⁸ Surat Al-Kahf. 16.

Dhul-Qarnayn's story has the lesson that the earth is Allāh's. He bequeaths it to whom He wills of His slaves and that true success lies in the path of faith and not in that of disbelief. It was also to say that Allāh has always sent one of His slaves, whenever the need arose, to rescue the weak ones from the tyrannies of the Yā'juj and Mā'juj of the time, and the earth will be ultimately bequeathed to the righteous slaves of Allāh.⁴⁴⁹

Then came down chapter *Az-Zumar*. It also hinted at migration to Abyssinia. It announced that Allāh's earth is not constricted. It said:

﴿لِلَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا فِي هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا حَسَنَةٌ وَأَرْضُ اللَّهِ وَاسِعَةٌ إِنَّمَا يُوَفَّى الصَّابِرُونَ أَجْرَهُمْ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ﴾

“Those who do good in this life, there is good (recompense for them). And Allāh's earth is vast. Surely, those who demonstrate patience and perseverance, they will be recompensed without measure.”⁴⁵⁰

It was in these conditions, and in this background, that the Muslim emigration to Abyssinia began.⁴⁵¹

Ibn Ishāq⁴⁵² has reported the following as narrated by Umm Salamah ؓ. She said, “When Makkah became too narrow for us,

⁴⁴⁹ See the story in Verses 83-97 from Surat Al-Kahf, especially Verse 94: “They said: ‘O Dhul-Qarnayn! Verily Yā'juj and Mā'juj (Gog and Magog) are doing great mischief in the land. Shall we then pay you a tribute so that you might erect a barrier between us and them?’”

⁴⁵⁰ Surat Az-Zumar: 10.

⁴⁵¹ As regards the signs in Surat Al-Kahf and Surat Az-Zumar, see *Ar-Rahiq*, pp. 105-106, which are indeed fine remarks. As for trial in religion and that it was the main reason behind the first emigration to Abyssinia, see: *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (10/43-44/H. 2297). Also see 'Awdah's article, p. 299 and pages that follow, for it is quite comprehensive. See also Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/73).

⁴⁵² *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 213—a narration of Yunus bin Bukayr; *Ibn Hishām* (1/413) for a narration of Bakkā'i, which goes through a *Hasan* chain. It is a long report dealing with the first emigration to Abyssinia. This chapter will present a few of its parts. Several others have mentioned it apart from Ibn Ishāq.

where the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ were tortured and persecuted, and the Prophet ﷺ could not save them although he himself was not harmed because of his family connections and, especially, because of his uncle, so that he was not as freely targeted with what would give him pain ... when they perceived that, then the Prophet ﷺ himself told them, 'The Abyssinian lands are ruled by a king who does not oppress anyone. Therefore, go forth and seek refuge in his lands until Allāh finds a way out of the present situation.' Accordingly, we started going there assembling ourselves in ones and twos. And, we truly discovered that we had gone to a good land, good neighbours, in peace over our religion and fearful of no oppression."

Ibn Sa'd⁴⁵³ provides the details. He said that the Muslims slipped out of Makkah secretly. The first batch was made up of eleven men and four women. When they had assembled in Shu'aybah, they luckily found two merchant ships about to sail. The ship owners agreed to transport them to Abyssinia for half a dinar each. That was in Rajab, the sixth year after the Prophet ﷺ was commissioned.⁴⁵⁴ The Quraysh went after them in hot pursuit following their tracks. But they reached the shore to learn that the ship had just sailed out and that everyone had escaped.

Another report, also in Ibn Sa'd,⁴⁵⁵ gives us the names of twelve men and four women. Ibn Sayyidin-Nās⁴⁵⁶ agreed with him over the names except that he added the name of a fifth woman Umm Kulthum bint Suhayl bin 'Amr, the wife of Abu

⁴⁵³ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/204). Its chain has three defects: presence of Wāqidi, unknowability of 'Ubaydullah bin 'Abbās and the fact that it is Disconnected (*Mursal*).

⁴⁵⁴ This conforms the saying of Ibn Ishāq that the first *Hijrah* took place before the boycott, being contrary to Musa bin 'Uqbah's opinion. See *Ibn Hishām* (1/430), and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/74) where he said: "Musa bin 'Uqbah claimed that the first *Hijrah* to Abyssinia took at the time when Abu Tālib and his allies entered into the valley (where they were locked)."

⁴⁵⁵ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/204) through Wāqidi, being what Ibn Qaiyim preferred in *Zād* (3/23).

⁴⁵⁶ *Uyunul-Athar* (1/155).

Sabrah. Ibn Ishāq⁴⁵⁷ however maintained that they were ten men and four women and that Ibn Mas'ūd was not one of them. In his place he mentioned Abu Hātib, although not without some reservation, employing such words as, "It is claimed ...". Dhahabi⁴⁵⁸ agrees with him in the number of men and women but he named Abu Sabrah and dropped out Hātib or Abu Hātib. He also dropped out Ibn Mas'ūd. On the other hand, although 'Urwah⁴⁵⁹ maintained that they were eleven men and four women, he said Ibn Mas'ūd was one of them but not Hātib.

Included in this first batch of emigrants were: Abu Salamah bin 'Abdul-Asad, his wife Umm Salamah bint Abu Umaiyah (she later became a wife of the Prophet ﷺ and has a long *Hijrah-Hadith* to her credit), 'Uthmān bin Maz'un, Mus'ab bin 'Umayr, 'Uthmān bin 'Affān and his wife Ruqayyah, a daughter of the Prophet ﷺ.

The Prophet ﷺ said about 'Uthmān and Ruqayyah (may Allāh be pleased with them): "They are the first family to migrate after Ibrahim and Lūt."⁴⁶⁰

This *Hijrah* is known as the first *Hijrah* to Abyssinia. Ibn Hishām⁴⁶¹ has written that 'Uthmān bin Maz'un was appointed their leader.

These people hadn't stayed there for long when news reached them that the Makkans had embraced Islam. So they decided to return to Makkah the same year in Shawwāl.⁴⁶² However, when they got near Makkah they learnt that what they had heard was only rumor, and that the fire of hatred had not yet died down. Some of them returned to Abyssinia while a few opted to re-enter Makkah, either concealing themselves thereafter, or living under the protection of one of the Quraysh.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibn Hishām* (398-399) and *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, pp. 223-224, without a chain, so it is weak.

⁴⁵⁸ See *Sirat Dhahabi*, pp. 184-185.

⁴⁵⁹ *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 105, through a weak chain.

⁴⁶⁰ See *Dalā'il* of Bayhaqi (2/297)—a *Hadith* with a weak chain because of weaknesses in Bishr bin Musa Khufāf.

⁴⁶¹ *Sirat* (1/399).

⁴⁶² *At-Tabaqāt* (1/204) through Wāqidi, Ibn Ishāq without a chain—and *Ibn Hishām* (2/5). Therefore all the chains are weak.

⁴⁶³ Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/5) and is weak.

Some historians have conjectured that the reason for their return was a rumour that a compromise solution had been worked out between the Quraysh and the Muslims. Its main point was that the Prophet ﷺ had allegedly praised their deities and acknowledged their important position. It was said that the Prophet ﷺ recited the chapter *An-Najm* in the Holy Mosque. When he reached,

﴿أَفَرَأَيْتُمُ اللَّاتَ وَالْعُزَّىٰ ۝١٩ وَمَنَاةَ الثَّالِثَةَ الْأُخْرَىٰ﴾

"Have you considered the Lāt and 'Uzza and the third of the three the Manāt?"⁴⁶⁴

— at that point Satan interjected the following words in the ears of the pagans, "These lofty swans, surely their intercession is a thing coveted." It is alleged that the Prophet ﷺ prostrated himself, and following him the Makkan pagans prostrated themselves. When this story reached Abyssinia, the Muslims thought that the Quraysh had embraced Islam.

Ibn Sa'd,⁴⁶⁵ Tabari⁴⁶⁶ and Bayhaqi⁴⁶⁷ have reported this story but none of the six doctrinal *Hadith* collections, nor Imam Ahmad, nor other reliable books have entered them in their works. It is a false report both narration-wise, as well as text-wise. Here are the opinions of the scholars:

(i) The Chain of Narration

Ibn Kathir⁴⁶⁸ said, "Many commentators of the Qur'ān have mentioned this story, but all of them have the name of the Companion-narrator at the top missing. I have not come across a single narration complete of chain. Allāh knows best."

Qādi 'Iyād⁴⁶⁹ seems to have several sources before him. He said,

⁴⁶⁴ Surat *An-Najm*: 19 and 20.

⁴⁶⁵ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/205-206) through Wāqidi and so it is very weak.

⁴⁶⁶ *Tafsir* (17/131-132). Abu Ma'shar was one of the narrators hence it is weak.

⁴⁶⁷ See *Dalā'il* (2/285-287) with a weak chain.

⁴⁶⁸ *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (3/229).

⁴⁶⁹ *Ash-Shifa* (2/750 and what follows).

"As for the first source, it might be sufficient for you to know that none of the six canonical collections have mentioned this story and that no trustworthy narrator has narrated it through an unbroken chain. There are many broken chains of narration that carry different versions of the story, some with contradictory statements. It seems to be popular with those commentators and historians who go after every bizarre story. They piece together material both of dubious nature as well as those of trustworthy origins. But none of the commentators or the historians have been able to cite a good chain, nor has anyone claimed to have heard it directly from a Companion. Most of the chains are worthless ..."

Ibn Hajar⁴⁷⁰ said, after mentioning a few chains, "All of them are untrustworthy narrators except Sa'eed bin Jubayr. They are either untrustworthy or the chains are broken. However, the fact that it is so well spread a story, indicates that it has a basis, especially when it has one or two chains that are broken just after the Prophet ﷺ, but are otherwise trustworthy that can be judged by the criterion set by Bukhāri and Muslim. One such is in Tabari coming through Yunus bin Yazid, he through Ibn Shihāb ... The second one is also in Tabari coming through Mu'tamar bin Sulaymān, Hammād bin Salamah ..."

Dr. 'Abdul-Mu'ti Qala'ji⁴⁷¹ has presented some new and logical reasons to refute the swans fable.

Albānī⁴⁷² has in fact written a short book on this topic. He has collected all the traditions speaking of this story and demonstrated the weaknesses or spuriousness of everyone of them. He has also demonstrated that there are some reports of the Disconnected (*Mursal*) nature that have trustworthy chain of narrators: that is, those reports that miss a Companion, with the originator directly speaking on behalf of the Prophet ﷺ, although he is not a Companion, rather, a second-generation follower. He too agrees with Ibn Hajar that when so many narrations are there on the subject, although all of them weak, they have to have some basis.

⁴⁷⁰ *Al-Fath* (18/41).

⁴⁷¹ See footnote (13) in *Dalā'il* of Bayhaqi (2/287-291).

⁴⁷² See first print, 1972, published by Al-Maktab Al-Islami.

Nonetheless, he differs with Ibn Hajar⁴⁷³ in his conclusions. Ibn Hajar accords strength to the weak reports. He says, "When several chains of transmission are available, and their originators are distantly placed, then that is a sign that the story has a basis. I have pointed out that there are three chains of transmission that, although Disconnected (*Mursal*) at the end, are trustworthy. Those who accord value to such *Mursal* narrations might accord them the value they think suitable — in fact, even those who do not accord them any value, (may do so in this case) because of one strengthening the other." In contrast, Albāni⁴⁷⁴ does not believe that several chains of narration strengthen each other if they are all weak. He rejects them all because, according to him, weak reports do not strengthen each other.

Dr. Muhammad Mustafa A'zami⁴⁷⁵ took a stand against Albāni over this issue. He wrote:

"Albāni⁴⁷⁶ has quoted Ibn Taymiyyah on the question of acceptance of Disconnected reports (*Marāsīl*, sing. *Mursal*). The sum and substance of what Ibn Taymiyyah had to say is, 'If two Disconnected reports come to us from two different directions such that each narrator took the report from a narrator different from the narrator of the other report, then this signifies the narration of a fact, for, normally, one cannot suppose the occurrence of a mistake or an intention to lie in a case of this sort.'

"Some scholars have censured Albāni over his acceptance of this principle. I might point out however that this principle is not Albāni's invention. Rather, he has taken it from Imam Shāfi'i and others who came after him (i.e., after Shāfi'i) such as, Ibn Taymiyyah, Nawawi, and others. Suyuti⁴⁷⁷ too has said, 'If a *Mursal* has a strong chain of narration, and compares well with another, either *Mursal* or *Musnad* (one reaching the Prophet ﷺ without a break), and the narrators are all different, then the report is trustworthy.' Shāfi'i⁴⁷⁸ has also written something similar except

⁴⁷³ *Al-Fath* (18/42).

⁴⁷⁴ See *Nasibul-Manjāniq*, p. 20 and what follows.

⁴⁷⁵ Footnotes of *Maghāzi Rasulullah*, in ref. to 'Urwah bin Zubayr, p. 107.

⁴⁷⁶ *Nasibul-Manjāniq*, p. 23.

⁴⁷⁷ *Tadribur-Rāwī fī Sharh Taqribin-Nawawī* (1/198-199).

⁴⁷⁸ See *Ar-Risālah*, pp. 461-462.

that he accepts *Marāsīl* of prominent second-generation Followers (*Ṭābi'in*) alone, on the condition that the narrators named in that report are all trustworthy, and who did not say anything in contradiction to the reported text. He also added the conditions that (a) either a Companion should have something similar to say, (b) or most scholars should have decreed its legality in substance. However, if such conditions are not met, then the *Mursal* report is not acceptable. And, there is no doubt about it that such conditions are not found in the issue under consideration. Therefore, Ibn Hajar's declaration of their trustworthiness, is an error from him."

Dr. Abu Shahbah⁴⁷⁹ has replied to Ibn Hajar's statement in *Al-Fath* and those of the scholars who have followed him in that opinion such as Suyuti. Dr. Abu Shahbah wrote:

1. "The majority of *Hadith* scholars have not used *Mursal* reports declaring them as belonging to the weak class, expressing the concern that the one whose name is missing could have been a non-Companion in which case either trustworthy or non-trustworthy. (In contrast, the Companions were all trustworthy — *Translator*.) This means, we cannot be sure that the missing narrator was not a liar. We find Imam Muslim⁴⁸⁰ stating this. He wrote, 'A *Mursal* report is neither acceptable to us (*Hadith* scholars), nor to others (non-*Hadith* scholars).' Ibn Salah⁴⁸¹ has said, 'What I have stated as the refusal by the scholars to use a *Mursal* report, and the untrustworthiness of such reports is what majority of *Hadith* scholars have adopted as a principle. This can be observed from their works — although the schools of Imam Mālik and Abu Hanifah believe in relying on them when necessary. As for Shāfi'i, he accepts them on certain conditions which he mentioned in his *Ar-Risālah*. 'Irāqi has mentioned this in his *The Two Thousand (Rules) in Verse*, as have others.

2. Usage of *Mursal* reports is restricted to minor issues in Law, where total freedom from the conjectural is not a necessary requirement. But dependence on it in matters of faith and beliefs

⁴⁷⁹ *As-Siratun-Nabawīyyah fī Daw'il-Qur'ān was-Sunnah* (1/368-369).

⁴⁸⁰ See: Introduction of *Sahih Muslim* (1/30).

⁴⁸¹ See: Introduction of Ibn Salah, p. 58, the 'Ilmiyyah print of Halb.

is out of the question. In addition, one might be reminded that the above story has not been reported by any of the six canonical works nor by Imam Ahmad, in fact, not by any trustworthy *Hadith* collector."

(ii) Common Sense

(a) Contradiction with the Qur'ān

Dr. 'Azami⁴⁸² writes in refutation of this story, "If we suppose for a moment that its chains of narration are trustworthy, does it mean the narration is true? Allāh forbid that it be so.

"It cannot be overlooked that the report is one of those that have been termed as *Shādh*. That is, a tradition that contradicts in its meaning another *Hadith* whose narrator is more trustworthy, or who transmits more number of *Ahādith* on that topic. Further, *Shādh Hādith* is also of the untrustworthy variety. This is the ruling that applies when it happens to be of the *Ahād* type (singletons, or, those that originate from a single source). Further, if an *Ahād* report contradicts the Qur'ān and the consensus of the community of scholars, in matters involving belief in Prophets, then such a tradition is not considered a *Shādh* tradition. It is treated as an outright fabrication.

"This is a rule that was formulated in the older times. Ibn Jawzi⁴⁸³ has said, 'Every *Hadith* that you find completely opposes reason and intellect, or contradicts a well-established principle, is for sure a fabricated one. It should not be passed on down the line.'"

Ibn Abu Hātim Rāzi⁴⁸⁴ wrote, "*Hadith* trustworthiness will depend on the narrators. Further, it has to have a text that is worthy of consideration as a statement of the Prophet ﷺ.

⁴⁸² His footnotes on the battles of the Messenger of Allāh, in ref. to 'Urwah bin Zubayr.

⁴⁸³ *Fathul Mughith*, p. 114.

⁴⁸⁴ The Introduction to *Al-Jarhu wat-Ta'dil*, p. 351.

"Now, what reason, however weak, would agree that the Messenger ﷺ who brought a message of such pure and unadulterated *Tawhid* should make a deal with the pagans by prostrating himself to their goddesses, and then attribute those words to Allāh?

"Even if the chains of narration had been as obviously bright as the sun, the story couldn't have been true. Why then should an interpretation be attempted when its chains of narration are as weak as they are?"

One of the Qur'ānic texts that the story contradicts is as follows:

﴿إِنَّ عِبَادِي لَيْسَ لَكَ عَلَيْهِمْ سُلْطَانٌ إِلَّا مَنِ اتَّبَعَكَ مِنَ الْغَاوِينَ﴾

"Verily, you (Satan) shall have no power over My slaves except such of the rebellious ones who follow you."⁴⁸⁵

Iblis (Satan) himself acknowledged that he will have no power over Allāh's true slaves. It is reported in the Qur'ān,

﴿قَالَ فَبِعِزَّتِكَ لَا أُغْوِيَنَّهُمْ أَجْمَعِينَ ۝٨٢ إِلَّا عِبَادَكَ مِنْهُمُ الْمُخَلَصِينَ﴾

"He said, 'By Your might, I shall mislead everyone of them except Your true slaves.'"⁴⁸⁶

Indeed, Satan has no power at all over those who believe in Allāh and have trust in Him. The Qur'ān said,

﴿إِنَّهُ لَيْسَ لَهُ سُلْطَانٌ عَلَى الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَعَلَى رَبِّهِمْ يَتَوَكَّلُونَ﴾

"Surely, he has no power over those who believe in Him and in Him they place their trust."⁴⁸⁷

Now, who from among the Messengers was truer in his faith and had greater trust in Allāh than Prophet Muhammad ﷺ?

⁴⁸⁵ Surat Al-Hijr: 42.

⁴⁸⁶ Surat Sād: 82-83.

⁴⁸⁷ Surat An-Nahl: 99.

(b) Contradictions in the Reports

What weakens the story further are the contradictions between its various versions. One version says the incident took place after a prayer. Another says it happened during a prayer. One version says the Prophet ﷺ spoke to himself by error, a fourth says Satan spoke out by his tongue. A fifth says the Prophet ﷺ said it in a state of extreme fatigue. A sixth says Satan was able to snatch a short spell of silence during which he recited it in Prophet's style and accent.

(c) Rejection of the Story on Language Grounds

Shaykh Abu Shahbah⁴⁸⁸ has brought to our notice Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh's opinion who discredits the story for language reasons. For instance, the pagan deities have never been alluded to as swans elsewhere in the Arabic literature: be it prose or in Verse. Further, no one has stated that the word was used in that sense by the common folk, except that *Mu'jamul-Buldān* has referred to it, but through unknown narrators. The term *Ghurnuq*, *Ghirnuq*, *Ghurniq*, and *Ghirniq* are all used for black and white water birds. One of its variant meanings is 'a handsome young man.' It has other uses too. But, it is never used in the sense of deities or goddesses, in a good quality speech that eloquent orators would approve of.

Another linguistic reason for rejecting the story is the variant language style of the two: the Qur'ānic Verses and the words of the pagans that supposedly fell in between. The first set of Verses say,

﴿أَفَرَأَيْتُمُ اللَّاتَ وَالْعُزَّىٰ ۝١٩ وَمَنْوَةَ الثَّالِثَةَ الْآخَرَىٰ ۝٢٠﴾

"Have you considered the Lāt and 'Uzza? And Manāt the third of the three?"⁴⁸⁹

This passage was supposed to have been followed by the 'swan Verse', viz., "These lofty swans, surely their intercession is a thing coveted." Then the Qur'ānic Verses that come after say,

⁴⁸⁸ *As-Siratun-Nabawiyah fi Daw'i'l-Qur'ān was-Sunnah* (1/367).

⁴⁸⁹ *Surat Al-Najm*: 19-22.

﴿أَلَكُمُ الذَّكَرُ وَلَهُ الْأُنثَىٰ ۝٢١ تِلْكَ إِذَا قِسْمَةٌ ضِيزَىٰ﴾

"Should there be males for you and for Him females? This then is a pervert division."

And the Verses,

﴿إِن هِيَ إِلَّا أَسْمَاءٌ سَمِيَّتُوهَا أَنْتُمْ وَءَابَاؤُكُمْ مَّا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ بِهَا مِنْ سُلْطَانٍ إِن يَبْعُثْ إِلَّا الظَّنَّ وَمَا تَهْوَى الْأَنْفُسُ وَلَقَدْ جَاءَهُمْ مِنْ رَبِّهِمْ الْهُدَىٰ ۝٢٣﴾

"These are but names that you and your forefathers have given, for which Allāh has sent down no authority. They follow not but a guess, and what their base selves desire, whereas there has come to them a guidance from their Lord."⁴⁹⁰

It can be easily seen that the 'swan Verses' do not fit in contextually or linguistically. In fact, the statements are contradictory. Far from rhetoricians and literary masters, even an ordinary Arabic-knowing person will declare the passage with the interpolation as grotesque.⁴⁹¹

As for those other Verses that are quoted as explaining the incident of the 'swan story', viz.,

﴿وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِنْ قَبْلِكَ مِنْ رَسُولٍ وَلَا نَبِيٍّ إِلَّا إِذَا تَمَنَّى أَلْقَى الشَّيْطَانُ فِي أُمْنِيَّتِهِ فَيَنْسَخُ اللَّهُ مَا يُلْقِي الشَّيْطَانُ ثُمَّ يُحْكِمُ اللَّهُ ءَايَتِهِ وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ﴾

"And We did not send before you a Messenger nor a Prophet then except that when Satan intended to cause confusion. Allāh abrogates what Satan throws in and confirms His Verses. And Allāh is All-Knowing, All-Wise."⁴⁹²

- what can be said in their explanation is that Bukhārī's

⁴⁹⁰ *Surat An-Najm*: 23.

⁴⁹¹ See Ghazālī: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 118, Muhammad Abu Shahbah: *As-Siratun-Nabawiyah fi Daw'il-Qur'ān was-Sunnah* (1/371-372).

⁴⁹² *Surat Al-Hajj*: 52.

explanation coming from Ibn 'Abbās رضي الله عنه does not fit into the context. He explains the textual word *tamanni* as alluding to 'recitation and reading.' This in fact has lent credence to the story giving birth to the confusion about the connection with the incident. But, it must be noted that in this present usage the word *tamanni* does not have a modifier. It cannot be bound to recitation or recitation of 'the Book.' The grammatical modifier required for this is missing.

The explanation of the above, as found in a report in Bukhāri, is as follows: The word (*tamanni*) may be explained as meaning, 'He intentionally spoke hoping to win his people to Islam.' This interpretation agrees with the meaning of *tamanni* proposed by Ibn 'Abbās as in Ibn Humayd. This might be acceptable since linguistic explanations cannot be disregarded. 'Urjun has said (2/173), "Ibn Manzur has also cited in his *Al-Lisān* some other examples from *Hadith* as well as common usage. Linguists tend to believe that the word *tamanni* or *umniyyah* are used for intention, love, a wish to get something, etc. When it is said, *Tamanna Al-Kitāba*,' it means 'he read and wrote it.' This meaning comes from no less a person than the linguist Jawhari who shows emphatically that when *tamanni* is used unattached (to an article, or word) then it means 'to intend', 'to love', and will never be used in the sense of 'recitation' without the addition of the word 'book.'⁴⁹³

(d) The Time of Occurrence

What Dr. Shāmi⁴⁹⁴ had to point out about the period of revelation also destroys the credibility of the story. He shows that if the Verses of *Surat Al-Hajj* that deal with 'tamanni' are not of the Madani period altogether, then, at least they were revealed between Makkah and Madinah journey; whereas the reported incident of the 'swan story' is of the Makkan period. Can such a large period of time be imagined between the incident (of the 'swan story') and the Verses (of *Surat Al-Hajj*) that commented on the incident?

⁴⁹³ See 'Urjun: *Muhammad Rasulullah* (2/75).

⁴⁹⁴ See *Min Ma'inis-Sirah*, p. 76, footnote (3).

(e) Reason of Pagan Prostration

What is definitely proven, as in *Al-Bukhāri*,⁴⁹⁵ is that the Prophet ﷺ recited *Surat An-Najm* among a mixed gathering of Muslims and pagans. The ending passage of this chapter being what it is—a hammer blow to the heart—when the Prophet ﷺ recited them, his voice began to tremble for the threat they hold. When he reached the words,

﴿وَالْمُؤْنَفَكَةُ أَهْوَىٰ ٥٣ فَغَشَّيْنَاهَا مَا غَشَّى ٥٤ فَيَايَا آءِ الْآءِ رَبِّكَ تَنَمَّارَى ٥٥﴾ هَذَا نَذِيرٌ مِّنَ النَّذْرِ الْأَوَّلَىٰ ٥٦ أَرَفَتِ الْآزِفَةَ ٥٧ لَيْسَ لَهَا مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ كَاشِفَةٌ ٥٨ أَفَمِنْ هَذَا الْحَدِيثِ تَعْجَبُونَ ٥٩ وَتَضَحَكُونَ وَلَا تَبْكُونَ ٦٠ وَأَنْتُمْ سَمِيدُونَ﴾

"And the overthrown (townships) that were hurtled; and He covered them with what He covered; which of the favors then will you doubt? This is one of the warnings of the (same kind as the) early warnings. The approaching Day has come close by. There is none besides Allāh Who can make it appear. Are you then surprised with this discourse. You laugh and do not cry? And you are proudly sporting?"⁴⁹⁶

...at this point the awesomeness of the text melted the hatred of the proud listeners. They lost control of themselves and involuntarily fell into prostration along with the believers. Even a man like Walid bin Mughirah—an aged person (who could not bend down)—took a handful of dust and rubbed it on his forehead, in lieu of prostration.

But when they turned back from the assembly and felt that the awe inspiring threats had got the better of their prejudice, they regretted and wished to find an excuse for what had issued of them involuntarily. So they dug up the story that the Prophet ﷺ had spoken well of their deities and quoted the 'swan Verses' that they fabricated.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁵ *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (18/247, 48/H. 4862, 4863).

⁴⁹⁶ *Surat An-Najm*: 53-60.

⁴⁹⁷ See Ghazālī: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 117-118.

Second Emigration to Abyssinia

When some of those who had migrated to Abyssinia returned, they discovered that the persecution of the Muslims had actually got intensified. The Prophet ﷺ too was a helpless witness to what was happening. So he allowed a second batch to emigrate. This time they were over eighty men and nineteen women.⁴⁹⁸ Other figures have been suggested.

Imam Ahmad⁴⁹⁹ has a report coming from Ibn Mas'ud ؓ. He

⁴⁹⁸ See Ibn Ishāq without a chain — *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/408); *Zādul Ma'ād* (3/26).

⁴⁹⁹ *Al-Musnad* (6/185/H. 4400/Shākir). Shākir said: "Its chain is *Hasan*." Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/77): "It has a strong chain. That report leads us to believe that Abu Musa was of those who migrated from Makkah to Abyssinia, if the report had not been interpolated by one of the narrators." He also said, "It is said that it is reported by Abu Ishāq through a different chain: Abu Burdah through Abu Musa. It is preserved by Abu Nu'aym in his *Dalā'il* (1/252). It says at the beginning, "The Messenger of Allāh ordered us to accompany Ja'far bin Abu Tālib in the migration to Abyssinia..." At the end of the report he said, after mentioning Najāshi's good treatment of them: "And he ordered us to be furnished with food and clothes..." Thereafter Ibn Kathir added (3/77): "This is how Hāfiz Bayhaqi recorded in his *Dalā'il* (2/299-300) through Abu 'Ali Hasan bin Salām Sawwāq, through 'Ubaydullah bin Musa." Then he mentioned through his chain until the words, "And he ordered us to furnish with food and clothes." Ibn Kathir said, "This has an authentic chain." Which leads us to believe that Abu Musa was in Makkah and that he left with Ja'far to the Abyssinian lands. But the correct position is that it was through Yazid bin 'Abdullah bin Abu Burdah through his grandfather Abu Burdah, and he through Abu Musa: that they learnt of the Prophet's journey (to Madinah) while they were in Yemen. So they left as immigrants some fifty of them in a ship that tossed them to the Najāshi in Abyssinia. There they met Ja'far bin Abu Tālib and his companions. Ja'far ordered him to stay with them, so they stayed put with him until they went down to the Prophet ﷺ during the Khayber campaign. He said, "Abu Musa was witness to what transpired between Ja'far and Najāshi and so reported about it." He said, "Maybe the narrator fell into an error when he said, 'the Prophet ﷺ ordered us to go along (with Ja'far).' Allāh knows best."

Shākir commented on Ibn Kathir's arguments in words, "It is some good reasoning." See the footnote of the *Musnad* (6/187 and the previous notes).

said, "The Prophet ﷺ sent us to Najāshi. We were some eighty men including figures such as Ja'far, 'Abdullah bin 'Arfatah, 'Uthmān bin Maz'ūn and Abu Musa ..." He did not mention the number of women. Ibn Sa'd⁵⁰⁰ on the other hand mentioned the number of men as eighty-three and women as eighteen: eleven Qurayshi and seven non-Qurayshi. Ibn Ishāq⁵⁰¹ has thought (in his *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*) that they numbered more than eighty men. He mentioned the names of ten women. However, in his biographical⁵⁰² work he mentioned that they were eighty-three men and, if we are to include the new born (given birth by Raytah bint Hārith), then twenty women. Ibn Qaiyim⁵⁰³ stated that there were nineteen women. It seems there was discrepancy in the numbers because there were a few young girls that some counted, but others did not.

What strengthens the report of the biographers and war chroniclers is Imam Ahmad's narration mentioned earlier.

As for Abu Musa's return along with Ja'far, see *Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/36/H. 3872) which we shall present when dealing with the Khayber campaign, Allāh willing.

As regards Ibn Hajar, he tried to reconcile between the different narrations, to say that possibly he first migrated to Makkah, turned Muslim, so the Prophet ﷺ sent him to Abyssinia along with others he sent, so he first went to his ancestral lands which lay in front of Abyssinia on the eastern side. When he learnt of the Prophet ﷺ settling down in Madinah, he again migrated, along with those of his tribe who had become Muslims, but the sea waves tossed their boat to Abyssinia (*Al-Fath*, 15/32/...). This reconciliation was accepted by some scholars, including Sālihi in his *Sirat: Subulul-Huda war-Rashād* (2/533), and Sa'ud in his thesis for his Masters degree entitled: *Ahādithul-Hijrah* (p. 50) and 'Awdah in the foreword to his PhD thesis: *Also As-Siratun-Nabawiyyah fis-Salhiyayn, wa-Inda Ibn Ishāq*, p. 301. Bukhāri and Muslim agree with Ibn Ishāq on the point that his return was in the company of Ja'far while the Prophet ﷺ was in Khayber, as we shall speak of when dealing with Khayber campaign.

⁵⁰⁰ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/207) with a weak chain; for it is a report of Wāqidi.

⁵⁰¹ P. 228.

⁵⁰² *Ibn Hishām* (1/408) without a chain, hence weak.

⁵⁰³ *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/26) quoted from Ibn Ishāq in the *Sirat* but is weak.

Quraysh's Efforts to get back the Emigrants

Ibn Ishāq⁵⁰⁴ has the following report coming from Umm Salamah in connection with the emigration to Abyssinia: "When we descended on Abyssinian lands, we found ourselves in the neighborhood of a good neighbor, the Najāshi. He left us in peace over our religion and we worshipped Allāh, in a manner that nothing untoward happened to us, nor did we hear anything that would displease us. When the Quraysh learnt of these conditions, they consulted amongst themselves and decided that they should send two of their prominent men to Najāshi to speak to him about us. They also decided that they should bring expensive Makkan gifts to him. Of course, the most delightful of things for them was leather. So they collected a lot of leather and did not leave anyone of his high priests without intending a gift for him. They sent 'Abdullah bin Abu Rabi'ah⁵⁰⁵ and 'Amr bin 'Ās instructing them in words, 'Speak to every priest before speaking to Najāshi about them. Then offer the gifts to Najāshi and seek to get our men expelled before he has time to speak to them.' Accordingly, they met every one of his priests and presented gifts marked for him before they spoke to Najāshi. They said to the priests, 'A few of our foolish young men have entered the kingdom. They have abandoned their religion, but have not entered into your religion, adopting an innovative religion that neither you nor we are familiar with...'"

Hadith literature also tells us that the priests agreed with the

⁵⁰⁴ *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 213 and the following pages. See also *Ibn Hishām* (1/413 and the following pages). Its chain is *Hasan*. It has been discussed earlier, and it happens to be the best of the reports on the topic.

⁵⁰⁵ *Hadith* of Ibn Mas'ūd in the *Musnad* (6/185) through a *Hasan* chain, which has been discussed earlier, and that the one who sent him along with 'Amr, is 'Umārah bin Walid. 'Urjun's preference in his book *Muhammad Rasulullah* (2/24) is to reconcile the reports in the following manner: Quraysh sent a mission after the Muslim emigrants to Abyssinia while a second delegation comprised of 'Amr bin 'Ās and 'Abdullah bin Abu Rabi'ah, the main representatives. They had a follower among them who was 'Umārah bin Walid.

For fuller discussion see his book of above mention (2/21-24).

Quraysh delegation that they would advise Najāshi to order expulsion of the Muslims without speaking to them. But when Najāshi was advised that, he preferred he would rather speak to them directly to hear what they had to say.

When they were brought to him, it was Ja'far bin Abu Tālib who stood up as their spokesman. He explained to Najāshi the truth of the religion that Muhammad ﷺ had brought and the stand that his people had taken against it.

When Najāshi asked them to recite something of what the Messenger ﷺ had brought of revelation, Ja'far read out the opening passages of *Surat Maryam*. Najāshi cried so much that his beard became wet, and the priests cried so much that the books they were carrying got wet.

Then Najāshi spoke to the two Quraysh ambassadors telling them, "This and what Jesus Christ had brought are from the same lamp. Go away. By God I shall never hand them over to you."⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁶ Here a question might arise: Did Najāshi and his priests knew the Arabic language to the extent that they were excited when they listened to the *Qur'ān*?

Suhayli said in his book *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (2/93) commenting on the *Hadith* of 'Āishah regarding Najāshi gaining power over Abyssinia: "He mentioned the *Hadith* of 'Āishah about Najāshi when Allāh reinstated him as a king over Abyssinia, and that his people happened to have sold him to an Arab trader. Then, when conditions became confused in Abyssinia, his people took him back from his master, and restored him..." Apparently, the report lends us to believe that they took him from his master before he could bring him to his lands. Another *Hadith* makes it clear that his master was an Arab who took and kept him away a very long time. This is what he means when he says, 'when the conditions became confused in Abyssinia, and the affair became hard upon them ...' to the end. This demonstrates his long absence from them ... It is reported that when the report of Badr reached Najāshi, he informed those of the Muslims who were with him. He sent for them. When they came to him, they found him wearing a ... until the words, 'I am to learn that he and his foes met in a valley called Badr, a place full of Arak trees wherein I used to tend sheep for my master. He was of Banu Damrah. Allāh has defeated his enemies and has helped His religion.' This report proves his long stay in the Arab lands. And, from here, Allāh knows best, he learnt the Arabic language and so understood the *Surat Maryam* when recited to him.

While they were leaving, 'Amr told 'Abdullah, "By God, Tomorrow I shall come up with something that will destroy their peace and comfort."

The next day 'Amr bin 'Ās presented himself to Najāshi once again and told him, "These people say something most intolerable about Jesus Christ." So Najāshi sent for them. When they came in, he asked them about what they thought of Jesus Christ. Ja'far replied, "We say no more than what our Prophet has told us about him that he was Allāh's slave, His Messenger, His Spirit and His Word that He blew into Virgin Mary."

To the above I would like to add that if we admit his stay for a long while in Hijāz, and know of the fact of trade relations between Abyssinia and the possibility of people of the Abyssinian lands learning the Arabic language because of its importance for commercial reasons. It also used to happen to the Muslims to whom the envoys of the Prophet ﷺ used to speak to them in their tongues. Also, if we realize that Abu Nairuz, the freed slave of 'Ali bin Abu Tālib was a son of the Najāshi himself and that 'Ali found him with a trader. He purchased him from him and then released him in return of what his father had done to the Muslims. (See *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi* of Ibn Ishāq, p. 220), through a *Hasan* chain. This is according to one report. According to another, some people of Abyssinia arrived at Makkah and stayed with Abu Nairuz for a month, suggesting that he return so that they could make him the ruler of the land, but he refused. (The same source as above). If we have all these facts then it does not remain strange for us that Najāshi and his courtiers knew how to speak Arabic. Add to it the fact of ourselves being witness to the situation in non-Arab world. You will find some Muslims memorizing the Qur'ān and deal with without being able to understand its meaning. This of course is one of the miracles of the Qur'ān. (Surely, We have made the Qur'ān easy, so, is there someone to take admonition?) It has also been observed of non-Muslims dealing with the Qur'ān without knowing the Arabic language. According to a report of Ibn Ishāq coming from 'Urwah: the one who used to speak to Najāshi was 'Uthmān bin 'Affān. See *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, pp. 218-219. However more popularly known is that it was Ja'far who used to speak. See Ibn Kathir's *Al-Bidāyah* (3/84), which is what Ibn Ishāq has asserted, refuting 'Urwah. He said, "This is not true. And the reports in this regard, it was Ja'far bin Abu Tālib who used to speak." See Ibn Ishāq's *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 218. The reports in this regard require some attention which we put off for the future, Allāh willing.

At that Najāshi picked up a piece of straw from the ground and said to Ja'far, "Jesus was no more than what you said about him than this straw." He showed no concern for what his priests had to say and granted the Muslims a peaceful stay in his lands. He also returned the gifts the Quraysh had sent.⁵⁰⁷

The Quraysh felt humiliated by the outcome and did not find anyone before them on whom they could expend their anger except that they got tougher with those Muslims who were within their range of action. As for Islam, it had earned Najāshi and 'Amr bin 'Ās to its side.⁵⁰⁸

The Muslims remained there for a period that Allāh (ﷻ) had willed for them. Those who wished, returned after the Muslim emigration to Madinah and before the battle of Badr. Those who returned at that time were thirty-three men and eight women.⁵⁰⁹ The rest of them returned with Ja'far only in the seventh year after Hijrah⁵¹⁰ when the Prophet ﷺ had overcome the Khayber problem.

LESSONS

1. The movement of some people to Abyssinia legalizes *Hijrah* which is to move from a land of the disbelievers—where worshipping Allāh is made impossible—to another land where He can be worshipped without fear. We will have more to say on this topic when we deal with the Prophet's own *Hijrah*.
2. Sacrifice of one's wealth, homeland, and life are the foundation stones on which this religion rests. If religion is lost, then wealth, homeland and one's life are reduced to insignificance. Indeed, with religion lost, they are also likely to fall into

⁵⁰⁷ See the whole text of the *Hadith* of Umm Salamah in *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi* by Ibn Ishāq, pp. 213-216, and *Ibn Hishām* (1/413-418).

⁵⁰⁸ The talk about his Islam will come later and as to how it is related to his delegation to Abyssinia.

⁵⁰⁹ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/87-88/H. 3905); *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/280) and *Ibn Sa'd* (1/207).

⁵¹⁰ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/36/H. 3876) and *Ibn Sa'd* (1/208).

oblivion. In contrast, if religion is established and strengthened by society, and faith is well entrenched in the hearts, then the loss of wealth and homeland are likely to be regained in quality and quantity better than that was lost—since they will be then armed with honor, strength and wisdom. *Hijrah* is a kind of hardship borne in the cause of religion by way of sacrifice of wealth and homeland to signify an exchange of hardship greater than the hardship suffered, in the hope of a later victory.

3. It is allowable for Muslims to accept a shelter offered by non-Muslims, if need be, whether such shelter is provided by the People of the Book such as the Christian King Najāshi who later became a Muslim, or pagans such as those under whose protection some Muslims re-entered Makkah, or like Abu Tālib who gave protection to the Prophet ﷺ, or Mu'tim bin 'Adi who accorded him protection when he was returning from Tā'if.⁵¹¹

Najāshi's Islam

In one of his narrations, Ibn Ishāq⁵¹² has reported that after Najāshi's death, the people could see a light emanating from his grave. This leads us to believe that he had embraced the faith of Islam.

Another report says that his people revolted against him because he had become a Muslim and that before he battled against them, he got a ship prepared for the Muslims to be taken out if he were to be defeated. He is also said to have written a letter that spoke of his Islam. That reached the Prophet ﷺ who sought his forgiveness from Allāh when he died.⁵¹³

⁵¹¹ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 100-102.

⁵¹² *Ibn Hishām* (1/420), and its chain is *Sahih*.

⁵¹³ *Ibn Hishām* (1/421), with *Hasan* and *Mursal* chains and it contradicts the *Hadith* of Umm Salamah. Bukhārī and Muslim reported that the Messenger ﷺ mourned the death of Najāshi and said to the Companions: "Seek Allāh's forgiveness for your brother." *Al-Fath* (6/242/H. 1327). This *Hadith* shows that it was Najāshi. See also *Muslim* (2/657/H. 951).

These reports of Ibn Ishāq are in line with the reports in the *Sahihayn* that speak of Najāshi's Islam. Bukhārī⁵¹⁴ and Muslim⁵¹⁵ have preserved the report that the Prophet ﷺ mourned the day he died. That was the 9th year after *Hijrah*. He also offered prayers for him with the Muslims behind him. The two⁵¹⁶ sources⁵¹⁷ have also said that the Prophet ﷺ said, "Today a pious Abyssinian Muslim has died, so let's pray for him."

Muslim's⁵¹⁸ report has it that the Prophet ﷺ said, "Your brother has died, so rise up and pray for him." This report leaves little doubt that he died a Muslim.

Further, the Najāshi who died a Muslim is not the Najāshi whom the Prophet ﷺ invited to Islam when he wrote to him along with the rest of the kings, rulers and monarchs of the surrounding territories. One of Muslim's⁵¹⁹ reports can be used to substantiate this. Due to the fact that the reports do not specifically speak of two Najāshis, Shaykh Arna'ut⁵²⁰ is inclined to believe that the Najāshi over whom the Prophet ﷺ prayed, is the Najāshi to whom he had sent his letter of invitation.

Islam of Hamzah and 'Umar

(a) Hamzah's Islam

The entry of some of the important men of Quraysh into Islam did not prevent the pagans from persecuting the Muslims. In that

⁵¹⁴ *Al-Fath* (6/141/H. 1245) — see the writing of Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (6/228-230) about his conversion to Islam.

⁵¹⁵ See *Sahih Muslim* (2/656/H. 951). In this *Hadith* there is the indication that it was Najāshi. The last two narratives name him as Ashamah.

⁵¹⁶ *Al-Fath* (2/657/H. 1320).

⁵¹⁷ *Sahih Muslim* (2/657/H. 952) but the words are those of *Al-Bukhārī*. Muslim wording goes like this: "Today a righteous man Ashamah died."

⁵¹⁸ *Sahih Muslim* (6/657, 658/H. 953).

⁵¹⁹ *Sahih Muslim* (3/1397/H. 1774).

⁵²⁰ His footnotes on *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin 'an Kutub Sayyidil-Mursalin* by Ibn Tulun, p. 54.

climate loaded with hatred, Allāh willed that Abu Jahl's hatred of the Prophet ﷺ should become the cause of Hamzah's entry into Islam, who, although an uncle of the Prophet ﷺ, was till then a declared opponent of Islam. Ibn Ishāq⁵²¹ and Ibn Sa'd⁵²² have both reported that a slave-girl of 'Abdullah bin Jad'ān informed Hamzah of Abu Jahl's ill-treatment of the Prophet ﷺ bordering to insult. Without a moment's hesitation Hamzah went up to Abu Jahl while he sat among some of the Qurayshi men and hit him on the head with his bow, injuring him badly. Then, in his fury he yelled, "Do you dare insult him while I am on his religion?" That outburst led Hamzah to seriously consider Islam.

The Makkans were subject to various tendencies. On the one hand their obstinacy prevented their entry into Islam. But, whenever a new event touched their hearts and souls, the good tendencies threatened to take over and drive off the evil ones. In connection with Hamzah, the following report in Ibn Ishāq (in his *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 172) speaks of the two forces of good and evil in struggle. The report tells us: "When Hamzah returned home, *Shaytān* (Satan) came to him and chided him, 'Look! You are a Quraysh chieftain. Will you abandon the religion of your forefathers and follow that of this upstart? Surely, death is better for you than that.' That brought him back feelings of regret. Confused, he finally said, 'O Lord. If this (new religion) be true, open my heart to it. If not, find a way out for me.' He spent the night so disturbed as never before because of Satan's prompting and planting of doubts. In the morning he went up to the Prophet ﷺ and said, 'My dear nephew. I have fallen in a situation out of which I don't know the way out. I

⁵²¹ *Ibn Hishām* (1/360-361) with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain. See also *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 171-172, with a *Munqati'* chain. It was reported by Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/193) through Ibn Ishāq. Both he and Dhahabi did not commit themselves to any opinion. However, since its chain is also *Munqati'*, the reports are all weak.

⁵²² *At-Tabaqāt* (3/9) through Wāqidi who is abandoned in *Hadith*. He did not mention who reported the incident of Abu Jahl insulting the Prophet ﷺ and added that others who insulted the Prophet ﷺ were 'Adi bin Hamra' and Ibn Asda'. Haythami mentioned it in the *Majma'* (9/267) from a narration of Tabarāni but both transmissions being of *Mursal* chain. However, the transmitters of one of them are *Sahih*, while of the other trustworthy.

am not able to decide if this thing (that you present) is the truth or, is it a huge fallacy? So, speak out to me.' The Prophet ﷺ spoke to him in detail, giving him good tidings, warning him of dire consequences of rejection, and things of that sort. Allāh (ﷻ) inspired faith into Hamzah's heart and so he admitted, 'I believe you are right. My testimony comes from my heart. So go ahead and work for your cause openly. By God, I will not prefer to have all the riches under the sky in exchange of this new religion.' Thus, Hamzah proved to be one of those who strengthened the Islamic rank.

When Hamzah embraced Islam, the Quraysh realized that the Prophet ﷺ stood stronger and that Hamzah was henceforth going to protect him.⁵²³ That led them to withhold some of what persecutions they were delivering to the Prophet ﷺ.

Hamzah's Islam, declared in the house of Arqam, was an event of the sixth year after revelation.⁵²⁴

(b) 'Umar's Islam

'Umar ؓ too was one of the most dedicated enemies of Islam. He was known for his hot temper and muscle power. The Muslims had quite often experienced persecutions and torments at his hands.

Sa'eed bin Zayd, his brother-in-law said, "By Allāh, I have been through those days when 'Umar would tie me up and his sister because of Islam, before he embraced it himself."⁵²⁵ According to another version, "Only if you had seen me tied up because of my Islam, me and his sister, before his own declaration of Islam."⁵²⁶

Ibn Ishāq⁵²⁷ has reported that Umm 'Abdullah Layla, the wife

⁵²³ Ibn Ishāq: *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 172, with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain so it is weak.

⁵²⁴ Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (3/9) from Wāqidi's narration; thus it is very weak.

⁵²⁵ This was reported by Ahmad in *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (1/278), and the verifier judged it as *Sound (Sahih)*.

⁵²⁶ Reported by *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/25/H. 3867), *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 181.

⁵²⁷ See *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 181, and *Ibn Hishām* (1/423) through a *Hasan* chain. Ahmad reported it in the *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (1/279) through Ibn Ishāq but did not mention the authority above Ibn Ishāq.

of 'Āmir bin Rabi'ah said, while 'Āmir was out for something, "By Allāh we were preparing to move out to Abyssinia—and my husband was out—when 'Umar entered on me. He was still a pagan. We used to experience torture at his hands. He stood there before me and asked, 'Are you going to go away also, O Umm 'Abdullah?' She replied, 'Yes we will. You have inflicted pain upon us. Maybe Allāh will find for us a way out of this.'" She continued, "If you had seen 'Umar then: his softening and his grief over us..." (Later, 'Āmir, her husband) asked, "Do you covet his Islam?" She replied, "Yes." He said, "He will not embrace Islam even if Khattāb's donkey became a Muslim." 'Āmir said this from his experience of 'Umar's hardness of heart and his inflexible opposition to the Muslims.

This report leads us to believe that 'Umar's natural disposition to the good was struggling with the pagan ideas that overshadowed him, until a moment came when he was able to cast off the evil overshadowing his good nature. He entered into Islam and his stubbornness for pagandom turned into his firmness in Islam.

When Allāh (ﷻ) opened his heart for Islam, he inquired, "Who is the fastest around here in conveying news?" The people said, "Jamil bin Ma'mar Jumahi." So 'Umar went up to him and informed him of his conversion to Islam. Jamil rushed up to the Ka'bah and shouted among the people, "Lo. 'Umar has become a Sabian," with 'Umar right behind him saying, "You have lied. I have become a Muslim." That led him into a physical tussle with the Quraysh until 'Ās bin Wā'il Sahmi rescued him.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁸ Ahmad: *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (1/281-282), and the verifier said that the chain is *Hasan*. Another brief narration in Ahmad under *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (1/282-283) mentions that 'Ās bin Wā'il gave protection to 'Umar when some people gathered to attack him. The redactor ruled the report as *Hasan*. Bukhārī reported a *Hadith* of Ibn 'Umar (رضي الله عنه) that says that the people crowded at his house when he announced his Islam and that 'Ās bin Wā'il gave him protection, see *Al-Fath* (15/21/H. 3865). According to another narration the people were on their way to attack him, after learning of his Islam but 'Ās saved him, *Al-Fath* (15/20). This *Hadith* is also reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/428-429), as it is also in *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 184.

As for the popular story narrated in connection with his acceptance of Islam, it has not come to us through a sound chain of narrators. It says that he was on his way to murder the Prophet (ﷺ). Someone met him on the way and expressed his surprise that 'Umar wasn't aware of the Islam of his own sister and brother-in-law. When he learnt that, he was angry and repaired to the house of his sister and brother-in-law. He found Khabbāb with them. He beat his brother-in-law and even his sister until blood was flowing on her face. That cooled him a bit. He had found them reciting the Qur'ān. Those were Verses of *Surat Tā-Hā*. He asked it to be recited to him. But they insisted that he first take a bath before he could touch it. He did that. The Qur'ān was read to him and he went to the Prophet (ﷺ) to inform him of his Islam. It also says that he rejected the protection of his uncle 'Āsi so that he might face what the weaker Muslims were facing until Allāh gave power to Islam. Yet, and although some parts of this story have come through somewhat reliable narrators, the story, as detailed out here, hasn't got a strong chain, the kind that the *Hadith* doctors would accept. Wasiullāh,⁵²⁹ Hammām, Abu Su'ailik⁵³⁰ and others have declared it weak.

In truth, 'Umar's Islam was an answer to the Prophet's supplication. He used to say in his supplications, "O Allāh. Strengthen Islam with the Islam of either of the two that are dearer to You." He had Abu Jahl and 'Umar bin Khattāb⁵³¹ in his mind.

⁵²⁹ See his footnotes under *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* by Ahmad bin Hanbal (1/285-286).

⁵³⁰ See their footnotes in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/425), there the story was reported by Ibn Ishāq without a chain. See also Dhahabī's *Sirat*, p. 179 where he declared its status as weak. Ibn Sa'd also reported it by another route than that of Ibn Ishāq, yet by a weak chain, as mentioned by Haythāmi in the *Majma'* (9/63-65) and Abu Nu'aym in *Ad-Dalā'il* (1/241) and the latter with a very weak chain for it consists of Ishāq bin 'Abdullah Abu Farwah, who was abandoned as a narrator. However, the fact that the biographers quoted this story tells us that it has a historical origin and hence there is no harm in using it as a historical piece of data.

⁵³¹ Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (2/95) through a *Hasan* chain, see *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/230) and 'Abd bin Humayd in his *Muntakhab Musnad*, p. 245, H. 759; and *At-Tirmidhi* through a reliable chain (3/204) about which Albāni said: "*Sahih*" Also Bayhaqi in the *Dalā'il* (2/216), as also Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (3/83) tracing it to 'Āishah (رضي الله عنها), who declared it

So Allāh strengthened Islam through 'Umar bin Khattāb ؓ. We have Bukhārī's⁵³² report coming from Ibn Mas'ūd ؓ. He said, "We continued to gather strength from the day 'Umar embraced Islam." Many other reports have come down to us speaking of Islam gaining strength because of him, pointing to the important role he played in the history of Islam. One report is in Ibn Ishāq⁵³³ originating with 'Umar himself. It says, "When I embraced Islam, I scanned around for the Makkan who was the severest in his hatred of the Prophet ﷺ. I decided it was Abu Jahl. So I proceeded to his house and knocked at his door. He came out and said, 'Welcome to you. What brings you here?' I said, 'I have come to tell you that I have become a believer in Allāh and his Messenger and in the Message that he has brought.' Abu Jahl shut the door powerfully in my face muttering, 'May Allāh destroy you and destroy the news that you have brought.'"

Ibn Mas'ūd ؓ said, "'Umar's Islam was a triumph, his migration a victory, and his caliphate a mercy. We couldn't perform prayers near the Ka'bah until 'Umar's Islam. When he embraced Islam, he fought the Quraysh until he prayed in front of the Ka'bah and we prayed along with him."⁵³⁴

Suhayb the Roman said, "Islam emerged stronger with 'Umar's

reliable with Dhahabi agreeing with him. It also happens to be a *Hadith* of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ with the words, "O Allāh, strengthen Islam with 'Umar." Hākim said, "This is a reliable report so far as its chain is concerned, although the *Shaykhayn* did not record it. Dhahabi also mentioned it in his *Sirat*, p. 172. Yunus bin Bukair narrated it through a chain other than that of Ibn Ishāq, p. 185. But its transmission chain is weak because of the presence of Nadr Abu 'Umar who is identified as Ibn 'Abdur-Rahmān Khazzāz Kufi. To sum up, the report is Sound (*Sahih*).

⁵³² *Al-Fath* (14/186, H. 3684). He embraced Islam in the sixth or the seventh year from the day of the Prophet's call. This is stated by Ibn Hajar during his commentary on this report. See *At-Tabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd (3/269-270) where this *Hadith* is mentioned and the date when 'Umar embraced Islam.

⁵³³ *Ibn Hishām* (1/430) through a chain in which there is an unknown person. The rest of the narrators are trustworthy, yet the report is weak.

⁵³⁴ *Ibn Hishām* (1/422) offering us a narration of Ibn Ishāq with a weak chain; as well as *Ibn Sa'd* (3/270), with a weak chain also.

declaration of faith. He began to invite others to it openly. We began to sit in a circle near the Ka'abah, circumambulate it, took revenge on him who wronged us, returning to him with what he inflicted us with."⁵³⁵

Ibn 'Abbās is reported to have said that when 'Umar embraced Islam the pagans remarked, "Now the Muslims will wreak vengeance on us."⁵³⁶

It is also reported that the Prophet ﷺ named him *Al-Fāruq*,⁵³⁷ meaning one who drew a line between truth and falsehood.

Although these reports do not come through strong chains, there is no harm in narrations of this sort since they do not have a bearing on legal matters nor do they touch upon faith and beliefs. That said, there is no second opinion that 'Umar's Islam did strengthen Islam. This is deduced from the Prophet's well preserved words, "O Allāh, strengthen Islam with the Islam of either of the two dearer to You: Abu Jahl or 'Umar bin Khattāb."

Lessons

1. Men of power and influence from among the disbelievers can prove to be a source of strength to the Islamic movement. This is the reason for the Prophet ﷺ to covet the Islam of Abu Jahl or 'Umar. This point is further illustrated by another report, which said, "Those who were the best of the people before Islam would be the best of them in Islam, provided they gain understanding"⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ *Ibn Sa'd* (3/269). One of the narrations of Wāqidi, so it is very weak.

⁵³⁶ Ahmad bin Hanbal: *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (1/248) through a weak chain.

⁵³⁷ Dhahabi said in his *Sirat*, p. 179: (It is narrated by Ibn 'Abbās ؓ through a weak chain.) He said, "I asked 'Umar, for what reason were you named *Al-Fāruq*?' In reply he narrated the story of how he was led to Islam, how he beat his sister and her husband and finally his going to the Prophet ﷺ at Dārul-Arqam. At the end of the report he said: 'So the Messenger of Allāh called me *Al-Fāruq*.'" Ibn Sa'd reported through weak chains that the Prophet ﷺ named him *Al-Fāruq*. See Ibn Jawzi, the biography of 'Umar bin Khattāb, p. 23, 30-31.

⁵³⁸ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (13/161/H. 3374).

(of the religion of Islam).” Therefore, the callers to Islam should not neglect to pay attention to important, influential personalities of the disbelieving societies. One advantage is that the acceptance of Islam by such people removes a lot of doubt and hesitation on the part of their followers. This has always been the case. The Qur’ān said,

﴿يَوْمَ تُقَلَّبُ وُجُوهُهُمْ فِي النَّارِ يَقُولُونَ يَلَيْتَنَّا أَطَعْنَا اللَّهَ وَأَطَعْنَا الرَّسُولَ ۖ ﴿٦٦﴾ وَقَالُوا رَبَّنَا إِنَّا أَطَعْنَا سَادَتَنَا وَكُبَرَاءَنَا فَأَضَلُّونَا السَّبِيلَ ۖ ﴿٦٧﴾ رَبَّنَا آتِهِمْ ضِعْفَيْنِ مِنَ الْعَذَابِ وَالْعَنَافُ لَعْنَا كَثِيرًا ۖ﴾

“The Day when their faces will be turned about in the Fire. They will say, ‘Only that we had obeyed Allāh and obeyed the Prophet.’ And they will say, ‘O Lord. We obeyed our chiefs and important men but they took us off the straight road. O Lord. Inflict upon them double the punishment and curse them greatly.’”⁵³⁹

However, invitation should not be confined to the leaders and people of influence. In fact, Muslim leadership—those misguided off the Islamic course in the affairs of this life—needs also to be addressed.

2. The Prophet’s gesture of rising up to receive ‘Umar bin Khattāb ؓ when he presented himself to him at Arqam’s house, holding him by the end-piece of his shirt⁵⁴⁰ and pulling him toward himself, exposing himself to the risk that ‘Umar could instead attack him (since his Islam was not yet known), as reported by Ibn Ishāq and others is a good example of the Prophet’s courage at a difficult time. We will be encountering this on other occasions also, such as his attitudes at Uhud and Hunayn.

⁵³⁹ Surat Al-Ahzāb: 66-68.

⁵⁴⁰ The allusion here is to the popular story of how ‘Umar ؓ embraced Islam. A narration of Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Sa’d as mentioned earlier where we also stated that the report is weak, and not acceptable as a Hadith, and that its acceptance by the biographers tells us that the story has an origin.

General Boycott

When the Quraysh saw that the number of those entering into Islam was on the rise, and that the methods adopted by them towards combating it had failed, especially after the Islam of Hamzah and ‘Umar ؓ, they had to reconsider their methods. They decided therefore to embark on another strategy which was no less harder to bear than the previous one: it was to boycott the Prophet’s entire tribe.⁵⁴¹

Ibn Ishāq,⁵⁴² Musa bin ‘Uqbah,⁵⁴³ ‘Urwah bin Zubayr,⁵⁴⁴ Ibn Sa’d⁵⁴⁵ and others of the biographers have reported that when the Quraysh saw that the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ had found an abode of peace (in Abyssinia), that ‘Umar and Hamzah had gone into the fold of Islam and that Islam had now begun to spread in the tribes, they agreed together that they’d get the Prophet ﷺ assassinated. When this news reached Abu Tālib, he got Banu Hāshim and Banu Muttalib assembled together. During the meeting, they decided that they would keep the Prophet ﷺ in a *Shi’b* (narrow valley) within Makkah preventing any attempt on his life. This was their response to the threat by the Quraysh although many of them were not Muslims. When the Quraysh noticed that, they called for an assembly of their own, and entered into an agreement regarding Banu Hāshim and Banu Muttalib to the effect that they will not enter into any (commercial) deal with them nor intermarry with them until they had willingly handed over the Prophet ﷺ to

⁵⁴¹ It was mentioned earlier that the general boycott was one of the methods used to fight Islam—method number fourteen.

⁵⁴² Ibn Hishām (1/430) without a chain. *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 156-167 without a chain, hence it is weak.

⁵⁴³ Ibn Hajar took it from him to quote it in *Al-Fath* (15/38). It can also be found in *Dalā’il Al-Bayhaqi* (2/311), discontinued at Zuhri.

⁵⁴⁴ *Maghāzi Rasulullah* by ‘Urwah bin Zubayr, compiled and verified by Dr. Muhammad Mustafa Ā’zami, pp. 114-116, through a chain that has Ibn Lahiy’ah, and breaking off at ‘Urwah. The *Hadith* has also been reported by Abu Nu’aym in *Al-Dalā’il* through ‘Urwah (1/272-275).

⁵⁴⁵ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/208) through Wāqidi. Also see the details of the boycott in these source books, for they are pretty long and what we have mentioned is very much in brief.

them. They hung the boycott agreement inside the Ka'bah. It was Mansur bin 'Ikrimah who wrote it. The Prophet ﷺ supplicated against him and a few of Mansur's fingers became stiff with paralysis. Some have said that it was Nadr bin Hārith who wrote it. Others say it was Talhah bin Abu Talhah.⁵⁴⁶ However, both Banu Hāshim and Banu Muttalib entirely stood by Abu Tālib—except Abu Lahab. He sided with the Quraysh. It is said that the boycott started in Muharram of the seventh year after the Prophet ﷺ was commissioned. It lasted from two to three years. Musa bin 'Uqbah⁵⁴⁷ is positive that it was three years. A time came when they were really hard pressed since nothing could reach them of the food grains except what was supplied to them stealthily. The Quraysh even punished those of their relatives about whom they learnt that they had secretly passed on gifts to them. It went on until some of the important opponents of Islam from the Quraysh themselves could no more reconcile themselves with the severity the boycott entailed. They were Hishām bin 'Amr bin Hārith, Zuhayr bin Umaiyah, Mut'im bin 'Adi, Zam'ah bin Aswad and Abu Bakhārī bin Hishām bin Hārith. They were all related to the Banu Hāshim and Banu Muttalib.

Ibn Hishām's⁵⁴⁸ report says that when they looked into the compact paper, they found that termites had eaten off the whole of it except Allāh's Name. However, Ibn Ishāq,⁵⁴⁹ Musa bin 'Uqbah⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁶ Suhayli said in *Ar-Rawd* (2/127): "The Quraysh genealogists say that he is identified as Baghid bin 'Āmir bin Hāshim bin 'Abdud-Dār." A second opinion is that: "He is Mansur bin 'Abd Shurahbil bin Hishām of Banu 'Abdud-Dār, which is contrary to what Ibn Ishāq said. Zubayr did not mention any other opinion in the *Sahifah* except for these two opinions, while we know that the Zubayri's are experts in the genealogical details of their people. Ibn Qaiyim goes with Suhayli to say that the person alluded here was Baghid bin 'Āmir—*Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/30).

⁵⁴⁷ Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/38); Dhahabi: *As-Sirat*, p. 221 and the following pages; and *Ibn Sa'd* (1/208-210) but their chains are weak.

⁵⁴⁸ *As-Sirat* (2/20) with a weak chain.

⁵⁴⁹ See *Ibn Hishām* (2/19)—*As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 161, without a chain and so is weak.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/38) with a weak chain.

and 'Urwah⁵⁵¹ have mentioned the opposite: the termites had eaten off Allāh's Name at every point mentioned. What remained in it was a reminder of their oppression and wrongdoing. The substance of both reports is the same: Allāh's Name could not be associated with oppression and wrongdoing.

Suhayli wrote⁵⁵²—which is also confirmed by *Sahih*⁵⁵³ reports—that the Banu Hāshim were so hard hit that they were forced to eating tree⁵⁵⁴ and shrub leaves until some of them stooped faeces like sheep. Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās was one of them. He is reported to have said, "Once I felt extremely hungry. One night I stepped on to something soft. I put it in my mouth. And, till today I don't know what it was." Yunus⁵⁵⁵ has a report which narrates him, "I was one of those caught up with the Prophet ﷺ (during the boycott). One night I went out to pass urine. I felt it was falling on something hard. It was a camel's skin. I washed it, burnt it, ground it between two stones, swallowed the powder and drank some water over it. It gave me strength for three days."

Whenever a caravan berthed outside Makkah and one of them went out to purchase some food Abu Lahab would warn the seller, "O men of trade. Inflate the prices for Muhammad's men so that

⁵⁵¹ *Maghāzi Rasulullāh* by 'Urwah bin Zubayr, p. 116. The chain stops at 'Urwah. It might be pointed out that no trustworthy report worthy of use has reached us describing the earth eating the document. See the research work of Hammām and Abu Su'ailik (2/19), for the reports are weak.

⁵⁵² *Ar-Rawd-ul-Unuf* (2/127-128).

⁵⁵³ I could not locate this *Hadith*, however in another incident, Bukhārī reported a *Hadith* of Sa'd which says, "We use to go out in military campaigns in the company of the Prophet ﷺ, with no food for us except leaves of trees to the extent that one of us would excrete in the like of camels or goats." *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/231/H. 3728). Also see the report traced out under *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* by Ibn Hanbal (2/750), present in the footnotes of redactor.

⁵⁵⁴ *Alkhabt* of the original is for leaves of acacia and other similar trees. A cane is used to strike the leaves to make them fall as fodder for cattle.

⁵⁵⁵ *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 194, through a chain of his reaching up to Sa'd. However, he dropped the name of one of the transmitters. We have mentioned the text. It seems possible that Suhayli took the report from other than this text. So, one might compare.

they cannot afford to buy. You know me as a responsible person. I promise you that you will not be the losers." So, with the prices blown up, they would return empty-handed to their children crying aloud from hunger. The traders would then go to Abu Lahab. He would compensate them. The boycott put the believers under great suffering until some of them died of it as a report of Ibn 'Abbās tells us.⁵⁵⁶

Nonetheless, despite the boycott and suffering, the Prophet ﷺ did not give up preaching. Every (pilgrimage) season he would set out meeting those who came into Makkah offering them Islam. Nor did he neglect the townsmen among whom he continued to preach.⁵⁵⁷

Ultimately, when the compact writing was worn out, the Muslims came out of the boycott resuming normal life.⁵⁵⁸

Sahih books have not mentioned the boycott in detail. Bukhārī⁵⁵⁹ has mentioned it indirectly and in brief. Abu Hurayrah has reported that when the Prophet ﷺ was on his way to Hunayn he said, "By Allāh's Will, tomorrow we shall pitch our camp at Khayf⁵⁶⁰ where the Banu Kinānah swore over disbelief (i.e., boycott)." He has another narration⁵⁶¹ of Abu Hurayrah that when they intended for Makkah he said, "By Allāh's Will tomorrow we shall pitch our camp at Khayf where the Banu Kinānah swore over disbelief."

⁵⁵⁶ This was mentioned by Abu Nu'aym in his *Dalā'il* (1/279) with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain, and so a weak report.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibn Hishām* (1/434) without a chain. So it is weak.

⁵⁵⁸ The *Maghāzi* of 'Urwah bin Zubayr, p. 167; *Sirat* of Dhahabi, p. 224, who ascribed it to Musa bin 'Uqbah. All the transmissions are weak.

⁵⁵⁹ *Al-Fath* (15/38/H. 3882).

⁵⁶⁰ *Al-Khayf* of the text is for a rough place below a mountain but above the level of earth that carries rain water. Hence the Khayf Mosque in Mina. There are other opinions too. Most famous *Akhyāf* are the *Khayf* of Mina and its mosque the Khayf Mosque. They said that indeed is the *Khayf* of Banu Kinānah. See Muhammad, Muhammad Hasan Shirāb, *Al-Ma'ālimul-Athiratu fis-Sunnati was-Sirati*, entry "*Khayf*", p. 110.

⁵⁶¹ *Al-Fath* (7/242, H. 1589).

A third report coming through Awzā'i and Zuhri says, "Tomorrow, the day of sacrifice, we shall be pitching our camp at Khayf of the Banu Kinānah who swore over disbelief." He was referring to Muhassab. Quraysh and Kinānah had entered into a compact that they would not intermarry with Banu Hāshim and Banu Muttalib nor trade with them until they handed over the Prophet ﷺ to them.⁵⁶²

Ibn Hajar⁵⁶³ thinks there is no contradiction between the two reports. He could have said those words while entering Makkah when it fell, and on another occasion when he was starting out for Hunayn. As regards the third report, it appears that he said those words at the time of his farewell *Hajj*, which means Awzā'i's report is of the time when the Prophet ﷺ was coming down from Mina, heading towards Makkah to perform his farewell *Tawāf*.

Muslim⁵⁶⁴ has a report which says that Usāmah bin Zayd asked the Prophet ﷺ during the Farewell pilgrimage when they were nearing Makkah, "O Messenger of Allāh, where shall we pitch our camp?" He answered, "Has 'Aqil left us a place to alight?" According to another report, "Has 'Aqil left for us a vacant quarter or a house?" This means he did not go back to his ancestral home. This does not contradict Bukhārī's report that he camped in the Abu Talib valley (without alighting in his own house).

Lessons

In addition to the points mentioned in the previous chapter, the following might be added:

1. At no time or place the world is totally devoid of good and decent people. Those working for Islam ought to identify them in order to make use of them in times of trouble.
2. Allāh's enemies will, through the ages, resort to use the economic weapon in order to turn the believers back from their course. It is a

⁵⁶² *Al-Fath* (7/242/H. 1590).

⁵⁶³ *Al-Fath* (15/39).

⁵⁶⁴ *Sahih Muslim* (2/984/H. 1351).

weapon that has the consent of the hypocrites and disbelievers alike. Had the Muslims of that time been in their employment, surely their employers would have terminated their services as war strategy. The excommunication of Muslims suited the situation prevalent at that time. The Islamic workers must understand it and know how it can be extended and given new forms at other times.

3. There is consolation in what the Prophet ﷺ was struck with: he is an example for the Muslims working in the path of Islam and who can be struck with similar trials and tribulations.
4. Pagandom, either old nor new, will never be without those noble qualities that can be relied on and made use of by the Muslims. Banu Hāshim for instance offered a great sacrifice holding on to the pagan custom of standing by the blood relations and defending them during the boycott. In our own times, we find the same phenomenon expressed in modern slogans, such as 'human rights,' 'political compulsions' or 'freedom of thought'; there is no harm in exploiting such principles as Muslims of the earliest times did who profited from Banu Hāshim's backing when besieged in the Abu Tālib valley.

Abu Tālibs Death

Abu Tālib died in the tenth year after the commissioning of the Prophet ﷺ and just a few days after leaving the Abu Tālib valley.⁵⁶⁵ It is said that he died in Ramadān three days⁵⁶⁶ before the death of Khadijah — three years before *Hijrah*.⁵⁶⁷ Another report says that there was a time gap of a month and five days between his and Khadijah's death.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibn Sa'd* (8/18) a narration of Wāqidi. Therefore very weak.

⁵⁶⁶ *Sirat* of Dhahabi, p. 237.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibn Sa'd* (8/18) through Wāqidi; *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (2/66) without a chain. He did not mention the month and said it was three years prior to the *Hijrah*. But the transmissions are weak.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibn Sa'd* (1/211) through Wāqidi who was abandoned.

Sahih reports confirm that he died a disbeliever despite having defended the Prophet ﷺ all his life. Bukhārī⁵⁶⁹ and Muslim⁵⁷⁰ have reported on the authority of Ibn Musaiyab that the Prophet ﷺ entered upon Abu Tālib when he was about to breathe his last. He found Abu Jahl and 'Abdullah bin Umaiyyah bin Mughirah there present. He told him, "My uncle. Say the words, 'There is no God except Allāh,' so that I can bear witness before Allāh." Abu Jahl and 'Abdullah bin Umaiyyah said, "O Abu Tālib. Will you abandon 'Abdul-Muttalib's religion?" The Prophet ﷺ kept repeating his words and they theirs until the last thing Abu Tālib said was that he was on the religion of 'Abdul-Muttalib, refusing to say 'There is no God except Allāh.' The Prophet ﷺ remarked, "By Allāh, I shall keep seeking forgiveness for you until I am forbidden." So Allāh revealed,

﴿مَا كَانَتْ لِلنَّبِيِّ وَالَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَنْ يَسْتَغْفِرُوا لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ﴾

"It was not for the Prophet and the believers to seek forgiveness for the pagans."⁵⁷¹

The revelation also said,

﴿إِنَّكَ لَا تَهْدِي مَنْ أَحْبَبْتَ﴾

"You will not be able to guide those you love."⁵⁷²

Muslim⁵⁷³ has recorded on the authority of Abu Hurayrah that the Prophet ﷺ said to his uncle, "Say 'There is no God except Allāh,' so that I can bear witness to your faith." He said, "If not for the fear of the Quraysh taunting me by saying that he didn't say that except from fear of the death, I would have set your eyes cool (by saying it)." Allāh revealed,

⁵⁶⁹ *Al-Fath* (15/41/H. 3884).

⁵⁷⁰ (1/54/H. 24).

⁵⁷¹ *Surat At-Tawbah*: 113.

⁵⁷² *Surat Al-Qasas*: 56. See the commentary on this Verse in *Zādul-Masir* by Ibn Jawzi (6/231-232), and the redactor's tracing of the reports that came in this connection, in the footnotes.

⁵⁷³ *Sahih Muslim* (1/55/H. 24). Ibn Ishāq mentioned the meaning of this Hadith in *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 237, without mentioning its chain.

﴿إِنَّكَ لَا تَهْدِي مَنْ أَحْبَبْتَ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ يَهْدِي مَنْ يَشَاءُ﴾

"You will not be able to guide those you love. Rather, Allāh guides whom He wills."

As regards those narrations that affirm that Abu Talib pronounced the testimony before death, they are not very trustworthy.⁵⁷⁴ Authentic reports are unambiguous about his death on disbelief.

Wisdom in Abu Tālib's Death prior to the Establishment of the Islamic State

1. We have already stated above that Abu Tālib died in the state of disbelief for reasons best known to Allāh (ﷺ).⁵⁷⁵
2. Maybe Allāh willed that Abu Tālib should die a disbeliever, three years before *Hijrah*. Perhaps that is because he had played a great role early in the Prophetic call (and its spread could be attributed to his role). Otherwise, some people may imagine that Islam was after all a tribal affair whose chiefs were looking for leadership and political roles.⁵⁷⁶ Surely, there must be many other reasons for Abu Tālib to have died a disbeliever.

Note:

It is stated that by default Abu Lahab became the protector of the Prophet (ﷺ) (being the next chief) after Abu Tālib's death.

⁵⁷⁴ From this is the narration of Ibn Ishāq that Al 'Abbās (رضي الله عنه) saw Abu Tālib moving his lips, so he listened to him and heard him say what the Messenger of Allāh had asked him to say. The chain used by Ibn Ishāq has an unnamed narrator. See *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 238. See Ibn Hajar's *Al-Fath* (15/41) and *Al-Isabāh* (4/116-119), for reports other than this that Ibn Hajar brought in rejection of the Shi'ah theory that he became a Muslim. Dhahabi also rejected it in his *Sirat*, pp. 232-236.

⁵⁷⁵ See: "Pagan Methods of Resistance to the Call."

⁵⁷⁶ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, the same reference as has been earlier stated, p. 51.

Initially, he bore the brunt. For instance, when Abu Ghaytalah insulted the Prophet (ﷺ) before him, Abu Lahab tried to defend him. However, the Quraysh made efforts to dissuade him from standing by the Prophet (ﷺ). They sent 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ayt and Abu Jahl to ask him to inquire the Prophet (ﷺ) about 'Abdul-Muttalib. The Prophet (ﷺ) replied, "with his people." Abu Lahab passed the answer to the two. The two remarked, "He meant he is in the Fire." Upon this Abu Lahab went back to the Prophet (ﷺ) and asked, "Muhammad. Do you mean 'Abdul-Muttalib is in the Fire?" He replied, "Whoever died on what 'Abdul-Muttalib died, entered into the Fire." Abu Lahab retorted, "By God. I shall remain an enemy unto you so long as you believe that 'Abdul-Muttalib is in the Fire." So, Abu Lahab as well as the rest of the Quraysh became angrier with the Prophet (ﷺ), and Abu Lahab withdrew the protection he had provided to the Prophet.⁵⁷⁷

Note how frank and straightforward the Prophet (ﷺ) remained. He did not appease anybody, no matter what the consequences.

Khadijah's Death

Reports are varied over the date of Khadijah's death. It is said that she died two months or, a month and five days, or, just three days after the death of Abu Tālib. There are other opinions. It is also said that it happened in the month of Ramadān in the tenth year after the Prophet's commissioning and three years before *Hijrah*. This seems to be the most reliable version.⁵⁷⁸

When Abu Tālib and Khadijah died one after another in a single year, fresh problems arose. Abu Tālib was a shield, while Khadijah

⁵⁷⁷ Mentioned by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/147-148) and ascribed it to Ibn Jawzi. He did not state the complete chain in order for a judgment of its worth. All that can be said is that if it were true, then it would settle the differences that prevail between the scholars over those who fell in a period which did not witness a Prophet.

⁵⁷⁸ See the earlier discussion (Abu Tālib's Death). Also see Dr. Qala'ji: Footnotes of *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (2/353) where he mentioned most of the opinions in this regard.

was a vizier. The Prophet ﷺ sought consolation from her in difficult situations.⁵⁷⁹ There are many reports that speak of her high position in Islam, and her importance in the sight of Allāh and His Messenger ﷺ.⁵⁸⁰

One report says that with Abu Tālib's death the Quraysh began to behave with the Prophet ﷺ in a manner they wouldn't have dared during his life. A young Qurayshite poured a handful of dust on the Prophet's head.⁵⁸¹ He entered his house with his head covered in dust. One of his daughters washed his head while she wept at the humiliation. The Prophet ﷺ told her, "Don't cry. Your Lord will protect your father." He also remarked, "The Quraysh could not have behaved with me in this manner during Abu Tālib's life."⁵⁸² We have also mentioned earlier that once they placed a camel's intestines over his shoulder while he was in prostration.⁵⁸³

That year proved to be so difficult that some of the historians have called it 'The Year of Grief'⁵⁸⁴ (*Āmul-Huzn*). However, it is not reported that the Prophet ﷺ himself used the term.⁵⁸⁵

We are of the opinion that the true cause of grief was the fact that the Prophet ﷺ was now completely prevented from preaching among the people. That the Quraysh had shut the door of the Call in his face, was more painful to him than anything else.

⁵⁷⁹ *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi* by Ibn Ishāq, p. 243, without a chain; *Ibn Hishām* (2/66) also without a chain hence it is weak.

⁵⁸⁰ Some of the details have been stated earlier, while discussing his marriage to Khadijah ﷺ. For more details see: *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, pp. 243-244, *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (2/850-856) who covered the topic well which increased the worth of the redactor's work.

⁵⁸¹ Ibn Ishāq mentioned this without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/66) and is weak.

⁵⁸² *Ibn Hishām* (2/67), through a *Hasan* chain but it is *Mursal*.

⁵⁸³ See (xii) Physical Assault in the former pages.

⁵⁸⁴ Dr. Buti also believed in this as in *Fiḥrus-Sirah*, as well as Shaykh Mubārkpuri in *Ar-Rahiq Al-Makhtum*, p. 133. On the other hand, Albāni opposed this term in his book *Difa' 'Anil-Hadith*, p. 18, which is used in a *Hadith* that Qastalāni preserved in *Al-Mawāhib*. One of his narrators is Sa'eed who was not too trustworthy.

⁵⁸⁵ See Albāni: *Difa' 'Anil-Hadithin-Nabawi was-Sirah*, p. 8.

Marriage to Sawdah ﷺ

Despite the variety of problems the Prophet ﷺ faced in this phase of his life, he did not become oblivious of the hardships that his followers faced. Accordingly, in Shawwāl of the tenth year after his commissioning, he married Sawdah bint Zam'ah. She was an early Muslim who had migrated to Abyssinia along with the second batch of Muslims. She was in the company of her husband Sakrān bin 'Amr.⁵⁸⁶ He had died there. In appreciation of her situation, the Prophet ﷺ married her.⁵⁸⁷ We shall have more to say on this marriage when we discuss his wives, the Mothers of the Believers.

Journey to Tā'if

After the death of Abu Tālib when the Quraysh were encouraged to behave with the Prophet ﷺ in ways that they would not have done during his life, the Prophet decided to travel to Tā'if and seek the help of the Thaqif tribe. He had hoped that they would embrace Islam,⁵⁸⁸ and, as a minimum, offer him protection.

Ibn Ishāq⁵⁸⁹ tells us that when he reached Tā'if he met with the

⁵⁸⁶ See his biography in *Al-Isābah* (2/59/no. 3337).

⁵⁸⁷ See her biography in *Al-Isābah* (4/338-339) where Ibn Hajar mentioned the *Aḥādith* and reports that were narrated in this connection. Also see Tabari's *Tārikh* (3/161-162), *Al-Isti'āb* (4/323) and *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, of Ibn Ishāq, p. 254 as well as *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (5/331).

⁵⁸⁸ See *Ibn Hishām* (2/69) without a chain; Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/243) with a perfect (*Jaiyid*) chain.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibn Hishām* (2/70-72) its chain is Good & Disconnected (*Hasan-Mursal*). He did not however attribute the supplication and what happened after. It was also reported briefly by Ibn Sa'd (1/211-212) in whose transmission chain falls Wāqidi. This report has a few differences in opinion to its credit, e.g., his mentioning that Zayd bin Hārithah was with him, while he did not mention the supplication. Bayhaqi also reported it in his *Dalā'il* (2/414-417) tracing it through Musa bin 'Uqbah who took it from Zuhri. Thus it is truncated through Zuhri. He too did not mention the supplication. Imam Ahmad (4/335) reported it where the supplication is mentioned. Suyuti also mentioned the supplication in *Al-Jāmi'us-Saghir* and ascribed it to Tabarāni, judging it *Hasan*. Albāni said in the footnotes of *Fiḥrus-Sirah* of Ghazālī, p. 132, as well as in *Difa'*, p. 19, "Tabarāni

chiefs of Thaqif tribe. They were three, all sons of 'Amr bin 'Umayr: 'Abd Yālil, Mas'ūd and Habib. He offered them Islam. They refused and scoffed at him. When the Prophet ﷺ felt that there was no hope they would accept the message, he requested them to keep the talk to themselves so that the common people were not provoked against him. But they refused that little courtesy, and sent behind him their slaves, servants and urchins. They began to shout behind him abusing him until a crowd started to follow him. They forced him into an orchard owned by 'Utbah and Shaybah, sons of Rabi'ah. The two were present in the orchard and had been watching the events. As he entered the orchard, the crowd dispersed. He sat down under the shadows of the grape trees.

When the Prophet ﷺ had settled he supplicated, "O Allāh, unto You alone do I complain of my weakness, lack of means and helplessness before the people—O Most Merciful of the mercifuls. You are the Lord of the weak, and you are my Lord. Whom do you entrust me to, someone who treats me harshly, or to an enemy whom you have given power over me? But if You are not angry with me, I do not mind. Your satisfaction is a greater thing to me. I seek refuge by the Light of Your Face that removes the darkness, and which sets things right in this world and the Hereafter, that Your anger should descend on me. Unto You I submit my will until You are pleased with me. And there is no power nor might except Yours."

When Rabi'ah's sons saw him in that condition their hearts softened. They ordered their Christian slave 'Addās⁵⁹⁰ to present him with some dates. The Prophet ﷺ surprised 'Addās by saying *Bismillah* before starting to eat. But, his surprise was reduced when he learned that he was a Prophet. He began to kiss his forehead, hands and feet. Rabi'ah's sons did not wish to see him being

recorded this *Hadith* in his *Al-Kabir* as a report of 'Abdullah bin Ja'far, briefly." In it the supplication is mentioned. Haythami said in his *Majma'* (6/35): In it falls Ibn Ishāq, who dropped down names of narrators, although himself trustworthy. The rest of the narrators are reliable. Therefore, the report is weak," because of Ibn Ishāq not naming the transmitters.

⁵⁹⁰ See his biography in *Al-Isābah* (2/466-467/no. 5468).

influenced by the Prophet ﷺ. So they told 'Addās, "Let him not pervert you of your religion. Your religion is better than his."

(But 'Addās was convinced that he was a Prophet. What happened was that when the Prophet ﷺ said *Bismillah*, 'Addās reacted in surprise, "This is something that people of this area never utter." The Prophet ﷺ asked him, "And where are you from?" 'Addās told him he was from Nineveh. The Prophet ﷺ remarked, "Ah. From Yunus' city?" 'Addās was astonished, "How do you know?" The Prophet ﷺ told him he knew because Yunus was a Prophet as he himself was a Prophet. 'Addās told him that when he left Nineveh, no more than perhaps ten people knew who Yunus was.

The report by Musa bin 'Uqbah⁵⁹¹ says that the Tā'if urchins had lined up in two rows waiting for him to pass by. As he did, they wouldn't allow him lift a foot and place it on the ground but they would aim at it with a stone. They kept on stoning him until his feet started bleeding. This was the worst physical torture the Prophet ﷺ had ever been through.

Having received that rough treatment, the Prophet ﷺ took his journey back to Makkah in grief. When he reached a place called Qarnuth-Tha'alib, (i.e., Qarnul-Manāzil), Allāh (ﷻ) sent Jibril to him. He was accompanied by an angel in charge of mountains. Jibril told him that the angel was at his service. All he had to do was to say yes to the destruction of the Tā'ifians. He will crush them between two mountains. The Prophet ﷺ refused. But, the visit and the suggestion added to his moral strength.

In this connection, Bukhārī⁵⁹² and Muslim⁵⁹³ have preserved one of 'Āishah's reports. She asked him, "Did you ever experience a day harder than that of Uhud?" He replied, "I received from my

⁵⁹¹ Bayhaqi quoted it from him in *Dalā'il* (2/414) and it is *Mursal* for it stops at Zuhri, further one of the narrators of the chain is Muhammad bin Fulayh who was trustworthy but given to misgivings as Ibn Hajar remarked: *Taqribut-Tahdhib*, p. 502.

⁵⁹² *Al-Fath* (13/37-38/H. 3231).

⁵⁹³ *Sahih Muslim* (3/1420/H. 1795). This *Hadith* gives us the room to assume that the reports that the biographers have stated about his migration effort to Tā'if have an origin.

people a treatment that I received. However, the hardest that I encountered was on the day of 'Aqabah when I presented myself to Ibn 'Abd Yālil bin 'Abd Kilāl. He did not respond positively. So I started off and I was in quite some grief. I had reached Qarnuth-Thā'alib when I lifted my eyes to see a cloud covering me. I spotted Jibril. He said, 'Allāh has heard your people's answer to you. He has sent an angel who is in charge of the mountains. You can give him the instructions (you wish).' At that the other angel greeted me and said, 'Muhammad. If you wish I could crush them between the two mountains.'⁵⁹⁴ I told him, 'Rather, I hope those will appear from their progeny who will worship Allāh without associating others with Him.'"

He received another moral boost before he entered Makkah. It was the Islam of a few jinn. He stayed a few days in a valley near Makkah called the Nakhlah Valley. Allāh (ﷻ) sent a few jinn to him there. They listened to the Qur'ān and declared their faith in him. Allāh spoke of the incident in chapters *Al-Ahqāf* and *Al-Jinn* of the Qur'ān. He said,

﴿وَإِذْ صَرَفْنَا إِلَيْكَ نَفَرًا مِّنَ الْجِنِّ يَسْتَمِعُونَ الْقُرْآنَ فَلَمَّا حَضَرُوهُ قَالُوا أَنصِتُوا فَلَمَّا قُضِيَ وَلَوْا إِلَىٰ قَوْمِهِمْ مُنْذِرِينَ ﴿٢٩﴾ قَالُوا يَنْقُومَنَا إِنَّا سَمِعْنَا كِتَابًا أُنزِلَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مُوسَىٰ مُصَدِّقًا لِّمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ يَهْدِي إِلَى الْحَقِّ وَإِلَىٰ طَرِيقٍ مُّسْتَقِيمٍ ﴿٣٠﴾ يَنْقُومَنَا أَجِيبُوا دَاعِيَ اللَّهِ وَءَامِنُوا بِهِ يَغْفِرَ لَكُمْ مِّن ذُنُوبِكُمْ وَيُجِرَكُمْ مِّنْ عَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ﴾

"And when We turned towards you a few of the jinn listening to the Qur'ān. When they went to him they said (to themselves), 'Be attentive.' When (the recitation) was over they returned to their kind, warning them. They said, 'Our people. We have heard a Book that has been sent down after Musa, confirming what came before it, guiding to truth and to the Straight Path. Our people!

⁵⁹⁴ They are the two mountains of Makkah. One of them is called Abu Qubays, while the one that faces it is known as Qu'ayqi'ān. Another opinion is that they are Abu Qubays and Al-Ahmar mountains of Mina. See footnotes of *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/150).

Respond to Allāh's caller and believe in him. He will forgive you your sins and rescue you from a painful chastisement."⁵⁹⁵

And:

﴿قُلْ أَوْحَىٰ إِلَيَّ أَنَّهُ اسْتَمَعَ نَفَرٌ مِّنَ الْجِنِّ فَقَالُوا إِنَّا سَمِعْنَا قُرْآنًا عَجَبًا ﴿١﴾ يَهْدِي إِلَى الرُّشْدِ فَآمَنَّا بِهِ وَلَنْ نُشْرِكَ بِرَبِّنَا أَحَدًا . . .﴾

"Say, 'It has been revealed unto me that a few of the jinn listened and said, 'We have heard a strange but lovely Qur'ān, guiding to the right way. So we have believed in it. (After this) We shall never associate anyone with our Lord ...'"⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁷ *Sahih* reports confirm the jinn's visit to the Prophet ﷺ. Ibn Hajar⁵⁹⁸ has stated reasons for seconding the opinions of Ibn Ishāq⁵⁹⁹ and Ibn Sa'd⁶⁰⁰ that this happened when the Prophet ﷺ was returning from Tā'if.

These two moral boosting incidents strengthened the Prophet ﷺ. He stood up with renewed energy without any fear of the opposition. When he made up his mind to enter the town (where he could be killed, since Abu Lahab, the new chief of the Banu Hāshim had disowned him), Zayd his slave (who had accompanied him to Tā'if) asked him, "How will you re-enter the city O Prophet, when they have turned you out?" He replied, "Zayd. You will see how

⁵⁹⁵ Surat *Al-Ahqāf*: 29-31.

⁵⁹⁶ Surat *Al-Jinn*: 1-15.

⁵⁹⁷ Narrated by *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (18/314/H. 4921), and *Muslim* (1/331/H. 449). Ibn Kathir collected together all the reports concerning the cause behind the revelation of these Verses. See his *Tafsir* (7/272-284) and also see *Dalā'il* of Bayhaqi (2/223-225) discussing the jinn embracing Islam and what of the Prophet's miracles that became manifest. Also see *Dalā'il* of Abu Nu'aym (2/363-366).

⁵⁹⁸ *Al-Fath* (18/315 and the following pages). He has a long discussion on the story of the Prophet ﷺ meeting with the jinn.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibn Hishām (2/73) whose chain is Good & Disconnected (*Hasan-Mursal*) being a *Hadith* of Muhammad bin Ka'b.

⁶⁰⁰ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/211-212) — a narration by Wāqidi who also mentions that it happened on one of the nights of Shawwāl, the tenth year after the Prophet ﷺ received the office.

Allāh smoothens the ground for me. Allāh will help His cause and give victory to His Prophet."

He sent a messenger to Akhnas bin Shariq asking him to provide him protection. The man evinced lack of courage. He sought excuse in that he was an ally of the Quraysh and an ally could not offer protection (to the ally's enemy). Then he sought the protection of Suhayl bin 'Amr. He too refused on grounds that Banu 'Amr never offered protection in opposition to Banu Ka'b. Then he sought the protection of Mut'im bin 'Adi. He assented and prepared himself and his sons to protect him.⁶⁰¹ Hassān bin Thābit, the poet of Islam, said some beautiful verses in praise of his decision. He said,

You protected Allāh's Messenger from them and they (the Muslims) became

Your slaves so long as the pilgrims say labbayk

If Ma'd and their families were asked about him

Or Qatan, or the rest of the Jurhum

They would say he faithfully keeps his covenant

*And his protection, whenever protection is asked.*⁶⁰²

The Prophet ﷺ never forgot Mut'im's favor, nor his role in

⁶⁰¹ See Ibn Hishām's narration (92/24) — without a chain but brought out with all the details; and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/151); Ibn Sa'd (1/212) who took it from Wāqidi. The latter did not deal with the incident of the Prophet ﷺ seeking the protection of Akhnas and Suhayl, but rather that the man who made a contact with Suhayl was called Urayqiz and was from Khuzā'ah, he ascribed the story to Umawi. Albāni said in *Difa' 'Anil-Hadith*, p. 19, "Tabarāni reported the story briefly including the supplication with the chain of Ibn Ishāq, tracing it through 'Abdullah bin Ja'far. However, Ibn Ishāq was a suppressor of the name of the narrator immediately before him. Sometimes he used the term, 'so-and-so said, so-and-so said.' Therefore the *Hadith* was treated weak (*Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghāzali, p. 132). As for Ibn Sa'd, he did not mention the whole of the story but stated a few words. In addition, the report with him is a statement of Wāqidi without a transmission chain."

⁶⁰² See Ibn Hishām (2/23-24) who offers a narration of Ibn Ishāq which is weak. Ibn Hajar mentioned it in *Al-Fath* (15/194). Fākihi mentioned through a *Hasan* chain that Hassān bin Thābit composed an elegy in

getting the boycott lifted. He said on the day of Badr in reference to the prisoners, "Had Mut'im been alive and asked me to release these prisoners, I would have released them."⁶⁰³

The protection offered however, did not prevent the Prophet ﷺ and his followers from movements in connection with the propagation activities. When some Muslims wished to migrate to Abyssinia, Abu Bakr ؓ happened to be one of those who thought he could go along. But when he reached a place called Barkal-Ghimād, he met Ibn Daghinah. He was a chief of the area. He brought him back to Makkah offering his protection saying, "A man like you, O Abu Bakr, cannot leave and cannot be exiled..." The Quraysh imposed the condition on Ibn Daghinah that Abu Bakr should pray in his house alone. Abu Bakr complied. He built a small place in the compound of his house for prayers. However, when he prayed, women and children of the Quraysh gathered around. His weeping at the recitation of the Qur'ān attracted them. The Quraysh got worried. The curious crowd could be won over to Islam by the Qur'ān. So they asked Ibn Daghinah to ask Abu Bakr to pray inside his house so that no one could hear him. Ibn Daghinah came to him and said, "Either you comply, or I'll withdraw my protection." Abu Bakr told him, "Let me return your

remembrance of Mut'im bin 'Adi when he died as a reward for the protection he had offered to the Prophet ﷺ.

⁶⁰³ Reported by *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/226-227/H. 3139). Ibn Hajar said explaining the words "I would have released them," i.e., without ransom. Ibn Shāhin offered another reason ... Ibn Ishāq offered the story in details. Ibn Fākihi also presented it with a *Hasan-Mursal* chain. It says that Mut'im ordered his four sons to put on their armour and each one to stand at one corner of the Ka'bah. When the news reached the Quraysh they said, "You are a man whose protection cannot be violated." It is also said that he was one of those who were fiercely opposed to the boycott agreement that the Quraysh had made against Banu Hāshim and Muslims. Wāqidi reported through a chain reaching Jubayr bin Mut'im that the Prophet ﷺ said, "Had Mut'im bin 'Adi been alive, I would have gifted these to him. Mut'im bin 'Adi had given protection to the Prophet ﷺ when he returned from Tā'if. Its narrators are all reliable except for Wāqidi who was abandoned. Abu Dāwud's words are (3/61/H. 2689), "I would have freed them." Thus various trusted reports demonstrate that the incident of his giving protection is authentic. It also proves the travel to Tā'if.

protection hereby and seek the protection of Allāh and His Messenger."⁶⁰⁴

This stand was similar to that of 'Umar bin Khattāb who rejected the protection of Khālah 'Āsi hoping to be in the protection of Allāh and His Messenger like anyone else of the weaker sections of Muslims whom no disbeliever would give protection to.⁶⁰⁵

Lessons

1. The Prophet's choice of the three leaders of Thaqif indicates the importance of inviting those whom the people follow. When they refused, it became obvious that the others would follow suit. Hence he did not tarry long in Tā'if.
2. The Prophet ﷺ demonstrated remarkable patience at Tā'if. Despite the very painful treatment he received at their hands, he did not pray against them. Instead, he prayed for their guidance. Allāh (ﷻ) answered his prayer. It manifested itself a decade later when the Thaqif tribe went to him as believers after he had lifted the Tā'if siege and returned to Madinah.
3. The jinn meeting him at Nakhlah is a proof of their existence. It also shows that they are responsible and hence questionable beings. Further, it is apparent that while some of them believed in him, others did not. Our source of knowledge about this is the Qur'ān itself.
4. The jinn believing in the Prophet ﷺ, after he had received the treatment he received, was to console him and heal his wounds. It was also to confirm that Allāh was not going to abandon him. If the peoples of the earth abandoned him, there were beings in other worlds—angels and the jinn—who would believe in him

⁶⁰⁴ See the whole *Hadith* as reported by *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/84/H. 3905); 'Abdul Razzāq in *Musannaf* (5/384-389); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (2/471-473); and Ibn Ishāq with a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (2/14-15); and Ibn Ishāq in *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 235.

⁶⁰⁵ See the story in the section that covers 'Umar's Islam.

and help him. It was Allāh who had turned the jinn—although a progeny of *Shaytan* (Satan)—into believers and callers to Islam. A Lord of such powers was capable of turning the antagonist Quraysh and Thaqif disbelievers into believers and callers to truth. Later, the events did take such a turn.⁶⁰⁶

5. It was a practice in the days of Ignorance, that when asked, protection was to be given. It is an important factor in modern times too. Now it goes by the name of 'political contingency.' It is also one of those things which the callers to truth can make use of.
6. 'Addās's acceptance of Islam provides evidence that the Prophet ﷺ did not return from Tā'if entirely unsuccessful. He returned with what was better than red camels. 'Addās embraced Islam.⁶⁰⁷ The Prophet ﷺ himself has said, "That Allāh should guide by you a single soul is better than red camels."⁶⁰⁸
7. Surely, in the story of his venture to Tā'if and what he suffered at the hands of the people there are lessons of consolation for the callers to Islam. If the Messenger of Allāh received the treatment he received, then, it is likely that those passionately devoted to the cause of Islam should receive a worse treatment. Accordingly, they should prepare themselves for that. This is the path of the Messengers and Prophets, and Allāh's Wisdom has set it that this religion will not emerge victorious without effort.

⁶⁰⁶ See Dr. Muhammad Rawās Qala'ji: *Qira'tun-Jadidah lis-Siratin-Nabawiyyah*, p. 99.

⁶⁰⁷ See *Al-Isābah* (2/466-467). Ibn Hajar offered evidences here to show that 'Addās believed in the Prophet ﷺ. One report he cited is that of Ibn Ishāq that we have presented, its chain is of *Hasan-Mursal* status. Next, Sulayman Taymī's in *Sirat*, it happens to be without a chain of transmission; and a few other reports that are questionable, either textually or chain-wise. Bayhaqi also quoted it in his *Dalā'il* (2/415-417) the story of how 'Addās believed in the Prophet ﷺ, it being a *Mursal* report of Zuhri. In it falls Muhammad bin Fulayh who was trustworthy but given to misgivings. All these narrations considered together strengthen each other and prove that there is an origin to the Islam of 'Addās.

⁶⁰⁸ A *Sahih Hadith* that will be mentioned later at the battle of Khayber.

The Nocturnal Journey⁶⁰⁹ and Ascension⁶¹⁰

This miracle followed the death of the Prophet's uncle (who protected him from his enemies), the death of his wife (who shared with him his hardships), and after he had received in Makkah and Tā'if tortures and afflictions of the worst sort. Most narrations lead us to believe that the event took place after the tenth year of his commissioning. However, differences prevailed over when exactly it happened after the tenth year.⁶¹¹ Musa bin 'Uqbah has narrated on the authority of Zuhri and 'Urwah bin Zubayr⁶¹² that the Night Journey to Baytil-Maqdis took place a year before the Prophet's migration to Madinah.

It is also beyond dispute that the event of the Nocturnal Journey and Ascension to the heavens did take place. The Qur'ān spoke of it, although not in direct terms, in two chapters: *Al-Isra'* and *An-Najm*. In the first chapter of mention, Allāh spoke of the Night Journey and the wisdom behind it. He said,

⁶⁰⁹ What is meant here is the miraculous Journey made by the Prophet ﷺ from the Holy Mosque in Makkah to the Furthest Mosque in Jerusalem.

⁶¹⁰ What is meant here is the miraculous Journey made by the Prophet ﷺ from the Holy Mosque in Makkah to Sidratul-Muntaha (Lote tree at the utmost boundary).

⁶¹¹ See different statements mentioned in this regard by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/119); and Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fat-h* (15/49).

⁶¹² *Maghāzi* of 'Urwah bin Zubayr, p. 120, with *Mursal* chains. We have chosen Zuhri's version who quoted Musa bin 'Uqbah, and the version of 'Urwah because of Ibn Ma'in's statement who said, "Musa bin 'Uqbah's narratives through Zuhri happen to be the most trustworthy of these books." Ibn Hajar in his *Tahdhib* (10/362), first print, India 1325/1327 H. And because of the statement of Imam Ahmad: "You may resort to the *Maghāzi* of Musa bin 'Uqbah for he is reliable." [Dhahabi: *Tadhkiratul-Huffāz* (1/148), third print, India 1955]. And because of Imam Mālik's statement: "Resort to the *Maghāzi* of 'Uqbah bin Musa for he was reliable." His another statement is, "May you pay attention to the *Maghāzi* of this pious man 'Uqbah for it is one of the most trustworthy narrative of expeditions." Nawawi: *Tahdhibul-Asma' wal-Lughāt* (1/118). And, it is enough that he is one of the narrators in *Bukhāri* and *Muslim*. See footnotes of Dr. A'zami on *Maghāzi* of 'Urwah.

سُبْحَنَ الَّذِي أَسْرَى بِعَبْدِهِ لَيْلًا مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ الْأَقْصَا الَّذِي بَارَكْنَا حَوْلَهُ لِنُرِيَهُ مِنْ آيَاتِنَا إِنَّهُ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ ﴿١٧﴾

"Glorified is the One Who took His slave by night from the Sacred Mosque (Grand Mosque at Makkah) to the Farthest Mosque (Masjidul-Aqsa in Jerusalem) whose surroundings We have blessed in order that We might show him Our signs. Surely, He is the Hearer, the Seer."⁶¹³

In the other chapter, *An-Najm*, Allāh spoke of the Ascension to the heavens and the benefits thereof. He said,

وَلَقَدْ رَآهُ نَزْلَةً أُخْرَىٰ ﴿١٣﴾ عِنْدَ سِدْرَةِ الْمُنْتَهَىٰ ﴿١٤﴾ عِنْدَهَا جَنَّةُ الْأَوْثَىٰ ﴿١٥﴾ إِذْ يَنْفَى السِّدْرَةَ مَا يَغْشَىٰ ﴿١٦﴾ مَا زَاغَ الْبَصَرُ وَمَا طَغَىٰ ﴿١٧﴾ لَقَدْ رَأَىٰ مِنْ آيَاتِ رَبِّهِ الْكُبْرَىٰ ﴿١٨﴾

"Surely he saw him (Archangel Jibril) a second time (in his original form), near the furthest Lote Tree. Thereat is the Garden of Abode. When the Lote Tree was covering what was covering. The eye did not deviate, nor did it transcend. Surely, he saw (there) great signs of his Lord."⁶¹⁴

Many of the narratives of the Prophetic period in Makkah are dedicated to describing this Journey. In *Bukhāri* alone, the total number of narratives reaches the figure of twenty, coming down from six Companions. Muslim has eighteen reports originating from seven Companions.⁶¹⁵

Nonetheless, a single report describing the whole Journey in every detail is not available. Every narration has some features

⁶¹³ Surat *Al-Isra'*: 1.

⁶¹⁴ Surat *An-Najm*: 13-18.

⁶¹⁵ See 'Ujūn: *Muhammad Rasulullah* (2/357, 359). Shāmi said in *As-Subul* (3/113): "Know, may Allāh have mercy upon me and upon you, that the *Hadith* mentioned in Chapter seven carries different pieces of information, so I sought Allāh's counsel and put these *Ahādith* together to make an agreeable story." See the story in chapter 8 (3/113-135) and the remarks on some of the benefits of the story of *Al-Mi'rāj* and the explanation of some of the difficult parts in the ninth chapter (3/136-242). They are, altogether 111. The tenth chapter consists of Jibril's prayer along with the

described that are not found in others. We have combined the reports to present them here as one whole, albeit abridged.

(i) The Opening of the Chest

Jibril came down on the blessed night of the Journey, opened the roof of the Prophet's house in Makkah, slit his breast and washed it with Zamzam water. Then he brought a tray filled with wisdom and faith and filled his heart therewith. Then he closed it, held him by his hand and rose up.⁶¹⁶

(ii) The Nocturnal Journey

Anas ؓ reports the Prophet ﷺ: "Burāq was brought up to me. It was a white creature, a little larger than a donkey but smaller than a mule. It placed its foot at the end of the horizon. I mounted it. He took me to Baytil-Maqdis (in Jerusalem). I tied it by the peg used by earlier Prophets. I entered the Mosque and offered two *Rak'ats* (units) of (prayer). As I came out Jibril brought me two bowls: one of wine and the other of milk. I chose milk. Jibril remarked: 'Your choice fell on nature.' Then he took me up to the heavens."⁶¹⁷ Other reports suggest that he prayed with the previous Prophets before he ascended. Adam and all those Prophets who followed him were assembled and he led them in prayers.⁶¹⁸

Prophet ﷺ on the night of the Journey and how the prayer was made obligatory.

⁶¹⁶ See: *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (17/284/H. 4709, 4710) and (15-43-70/H. 3886, 3888) and (18/242/H. 4856, 4858) and *Muslim* (1/148/H. 163) and (1/151/H. 164), *Ibn 'Asākir: Tahdhib Tārikh Dimashq* (1/386-387).

⁶¹⁷ Reported by Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/251-252) with a *Sahih* chain, and *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (21/176/H. 5576) and *Muslim* (1/145/H. 162). See *Al-Bukhari/Al-Fath* (21/176/H. 5610).

⁶¹⁸ Bayhaqi reported it in his *Dalā'il* (2/388), and Dr. Qala'ji said in the footnotes (2/387): Narrations strengthened each other to say that the Prophet ﷺ led the Prophets in prayer before ascending to the heavens."

(iii) The Ascension

Thereafter he was raised to the heavens. At the gates of every firmament Jibril asked to be let in. He was asked if he had company. He would say yes and name Muhammad. They'd say "Welcome" and open the gate. He met Adam at the first firmament, in the second 'Isā and Yahya, in the third Yusuf, in the fourth Yunus, in the fifth Hārūn, in the sixth Musa and in the seventh Ibrāhim. He found him sitting reclining on the Baytul-Ma'mur (which is the Ka'bah of the heavens). Then he proceeded to the furthest point of the Lote Tree where Allāh declared obligatory fifty prayers a day for his followers. When he met Musa while returning he asked, "What has been declared obligatory on your people?" He told him about the prayers. Musa told him to go back and seek reduction. He did that and Allāh reduced the number by five. But, when he came down, Musa once again urged him to go back and seek reduction. It went on, a reduction of five was granted every time he went back until it was reduced to five prayers a day. Musa however wasn't satisfied. He urged him to seek further reduction. But the Prophet ﷺ told him, "I have been asking and asking. Now I feel ashamed to go." A caller called saying, "I have declared the obligation and reduced the burden from My slaves."⁶¹⁹

The report of Anas ؓ coming from Abu Dharr ؓ has some other details. Such as, the Prophet's words, "Then I was taken up to a point from where I could hear the movement of the Pens." Thereafter he spoke about the prayers being made obligatory. "Then," he continued, "He took me further up until we reached the end of the Lote Tree. It was covered by indescribable colors. After that I entered into Paradise and lo! It was all domes with the land all musk."⁶²⁰

Ibn Hajar said: "That is apparent." He added, "There was consensus of opinion among the Companions over the prayer in Jerusalem." See the reports on this chapter collected by Imam Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/244-264), the chapters that speak of the journey by night of the Prophet ﷺ.

⁶¹⁹ *Al-Bukhārī/Fath* (13/24/H. 3207), *Muslim* (1/149/H. 163) Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/247-248) being a *Hadith* of Anas through Mālik bin Sa'sa'ah, with a *Sahih* chain; also *An-Nasa'i* (1/217).

⁶²⁰ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (3/9/H. 349), *Muslim* (1/149/H. 163).

Nawawi⁶²¹ has at this point discussed in detail the Beatific Vision mentioning the differences among the scholars over the issue. He himself is inclined to believe that the Prophet ﷺ saw his Lord. He depended on the narration of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ in which he said, "Muhammad saw his Lord with his heart, twice."

I believe Ibn 'Abbās' choice of words also supports those who maintain that the Prophet ﷺ didn't see his Lord.

(iv) The Return Journey

Reports give us to believe that the return Journey was also via Baytil-Maqdis, to Makkah. Tirmidhi recorded on the authority of Shaddād bin Aws, "... Then we moved on and passed by a Quraysh caravan in such and such a place. Their camel had strayed away. So-and-so was in charge of them. I greeted them. Some of them remarked, 'This is Muhammad's voice.' Then I returned to my homefolk before dawn."⁶²²

Burāq was the means of travel for the Journey to and from Baytil-Maqdis. Whereas, for the Journey up to the heavens, he always used the word "I was raised up" (*'urija bi*) without telling us of the means. Some reports say, "A ladder was set up"⁶²³ which he used for ascension. To be sure, *Burāq* was not used for going up, as some people have thought.

⁶²¹ His commentary on *Sahih Muslim* (3/4-15/The Book of *Imān*, meaning of the Verse, "And indeed he Muhammad ﷺ saw him (Jibril) at second descent.") See *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (9/312-316), the discussion over the Prophet's Beatific Vision, and who else discussed this issue. Also Shāmi discussed this episode in *As-Subul* (3/82-93) presenting all kinds of opinions, and perhaps he is of those who decided to remain uncommitted: neither saying yes to the Prophet's Beatific Vision, nor denying it, because of the conflicting evidences.

⁶²² Bayhaqi reported it in his *Dalā'il* (2/355-357) being a narration of At-Tirmidhi attributed to Shaddād bin Aws. Bayhaqi said: "This is a *Sahih* chain."

⁶²³ See *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/122).

(v) Quraysh's Stand on the Nocturnal Journey and Ascension

The Prophet ﷺ was apprehensive that his people might refuse to believe in him if he spoke to them about it. He felt a bit sad on that score. It so happened that Abu Jahl met him and asked him mockingly, "Anything new?" The Prophet ﷺ told him about his Journey. Abu Jahl didn't wish to express his disbelief in fear that the Prophet ﷺ might recant. Therefore, he asked him, "Supposing I gathered some people, will you repeat the story to them?" When the Prophet ﷺ said yes, he hurried away to gather the people. When they came and the Prophet ﷺ told them all that had happened, they greeted him with skepticism. Someone who had been to Jerusalem (while it was known that the Prophet ﷺ had never been there) asked him to describe the Baytil-Maqdis. Allāh brought it before his eyes so that he was able to see and describe it. They said, "So far as the description goes, he is O.K."⁶²⁴

Reports say that they refused to believe that he could go to Shām and come back within one night whereas, they took two months to do it. In fact, many of the Muslims also became apostates on that ground.⁶²⁵

When Abu Bakr ؓ was told of the story, he immediately believed in him saying, "By Allāh, if he said that, it must be true. Why should you be in doubt about it? Doesn't he say that he receives news from the heavens at any time of the night or day. Isn't that more miraculous?" Then he went up to the Prophet ﷺ and asked him to describe the place. When he had done that, he said, "I testify that you are Allāh's Messenger." The Prophet ﷺ told him,

⁶²⁴ Al-Bukhārī/*Al-Fath* (17/284/H. 4710), and *Muslim* (1/156/H. 170) and Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/262-263) a *Hadith* of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ with a *Sahih* chain of transmission. The words here are those of Ahmad. See Sa'āti's research on the report. Bayhaqi reported it in his *Dalā'il* (2/363-364) as also others.

⁶²⁵ See Ibn Hishām (2/45) who copies a report of Ibn Ishāq through a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain. The fact of some Muslim's apostasy was reported in authentic traditions. For example, what Hākim recorded in his *Mustadrak* (3/62-63) declaring it reliable and which Dhahabi approved.

"You are *Siddiq*." From that day Abu Bakr ؓ came to be known as the *Siddiq*.⁶²⁶

(vi) Evidences that the Journey was with Body and Soul

Qādi 'Ayād⁶²⁷ has written: "Scholars have differed between themselves with regard to the Prophet's Nocturnal Journey and Ascension. It has been said that all of it took place in sleep. But the truth on which the people are, along with most of the earliest scholars, most of those who followed them, jurists, traditionists and scholastics, is that he journeyed with his body. Most narratives point to this fact, and any varied opinion will need to be substantiated..."

Ibn Hajar has said,⁶²⁸ "The Nocturnal Journey and Ascension took place, in the state of wakefulness, with the body and soul, after the Prophet ؐ had been commissioned. This is the opinion of the great majority of scholars, Traditionists, jurists and scholastics. All evidences point to this. It is not right to differ from this opinion. The intellect plays no role in it, for it to resort to interpretations."

'Urjun has said,⁶²⁹ "This *Ummah* is one in this — except for a few varied opinions which in fact have not come to us through trustworthy reports such as those of 'Āishah, Mu'āwiyah and Hasan Basri. Allāh (ﷻ) opened chapter (*Al-Isra'*) with the words of glorification to symbolically express His Powers and that nothing is greater than the Power of Allāh ... Any opening with the mention of the words of glorification, is not employed (in the Qur'ān) except for things extraordinary, such as those that reason does not easily accept..." Then he adds, "The word '*Abd*' in the starting Verse is not used in the Arabic language but for the body and soul together. So also, the words, 'The eye did not deviate nor did it transcend' also

⁶²⁶ Reported by Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/62-63), where he said: "This is a *Hadith* with a correct attribution, that the two did not include (in their compilations)." Dhahabi approved it.

⁶²⁷ See Ahmad Shihābuddin Khafāji: *Nasimur-Riyād fi Sharhish-Shifa'* by Qādi 'Iyād (2/265), Dar Al-Fikr, Beirut. See the whole story in this source.

⁶²⁸ *Al-Fath* (15/44, the Book of *Mab'ath/Al-Isra' wal-Mi'rāj*).

⁶²⁹ *Muhammad Rasulullāh* (2/342-350).

speak of someone with body and soul. Now, Hasan Basri's narration was unknown in the time of the Companions. It is an entirely new opinion. As for 'Āishah ؓ, she was not yet the Prophet's wife at the time of the Journey, in fact, she was too young at that time to understand an event of this kind. She does not quote other people's opinion on which her own opinion rests.⁶³⁰ In other words, this is not a *Hadith* (a Prophetic narration). Moreover, Khafāji has shown that the chain of narrators has Muhammad bin Ishāq in it, who was treated as a weak narrator by scholars like Imam Mālik and others.⁶³¹ In contrast, the narrations to the opposite view are stronger..." Zurqāni has said,⁶³² "In fact, a careful study of her words shows that she too was inclined to believe that the Ascension was with body and soul. For, she denied that Muhammad ؐ saw his Lord with his eyes. If she had been of the opinion that the Prophet ؐ was in his sleep, she wouldn't have had to deny the Vision. (What she would have said is that, "there is no point in discussing the question of Beatific Vision, since, to begin with, he was then sleeping — *Translator*.) As regards Mu'āwiyah's opinion,⁶³³ it was declared after the opinion had been reached by consensus that the Journey was with the body and soul. It is another thing that Mu'āwiyah's opinion lacks a strong chain of transmitters, coming down as it does, through Ibn Ishāq. Even if it is demonstrated that it was truly his opinion, it would not be of much weight since it is a personal opinion formed after the consensus of the Companions. Such an opinion cannot undermine the consensus. As for Hasan, two opinions have been reported as his. One of them says the Prophet was then awake."

⁶³⁰ This is what 'Iyād said commenting on the *Hadith* of 'Āishah ؓ. See *Ash-Shifa'*: (1/372) as verified by Rifā'i and his colleagues. And the *Āyah* is no. 17 of Surat *An-Najm*.

⁶³¹ His narrations are treated as of status *Hasan li Dhātihi*, if he specifies it as a *Hadith* and its chain is Connected (*Muttasil*). However, of this report, the chain is an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) one — *Ibn Hishām* (2/46).

⁶³² His commentary on *Al-Mawāhibul-Ladunniyah* of Qastalāni (6/4-5).

⁶³³ Narrated by Ibn Ishāq breaking it off at Yaqub bin 'Utbah and he, if he was trustworthy, did not meet any of the Prophet's Companions — *Ibn Hishām* (2/46).

Again, if the Nocturnal Journey and Ascension took place in sleep, there was no reason for the Quraysh to deny, nor would have some of the Muslims apostatized, for what was the problem in accepting that his soul ascended? Finally, the manner of presentation of the incident in chapter *Al-Isra'* is strongly suggestive of the fact that the Journey was made in an awakened state, with body and soul, as 'Urjun and others have maintained.⁶³⁴

Lessons and Implications

1. The Nocturnal Journey and Ascension are events accepted by consensus of the Traditionists as well as biographers. They are also confirmed by the Qur'ān and *Hadith*. The evidence is overwhelming. The great majority of Muslims accept it as a miracle of the Prophet ﷺ. To deny it is to deny a well-known fact of Islam.
2. The event came after the Prophet ﷺ had been through some very rough times. It seemed to have come to increase his resolve and to convey him the message that the people's reaction in no way reflected Allāh's own regard of him. The troubles of that period were the way things are with Prophets of all times. But, in the end, truth will prevail and Islam will be established. This was symbolized by the fact that he was chosen to lead the past Prophets and Messengers in prayers at one point during the Nocturnal Journey. It also carried the message that if the earth was too narrow for him, heaven was not. If the earthly beings rejected him, those in the heavens were ready to receive him with honor.
3. The proximity in time and space between his Journey to Jerusalem and Ascension to the seven heavens was to demonstrate the importance of this House of God (Baytil-Maqdis) with Allāh. It was also indicative of the clear relationship between what the two were sent with: 'Isā the son of Maryam, and Muhammad the son of 'Abdullah, or between all the Messengers and Prophets: all united in one cause.⁶³⁵ It is also indicative of the

⁶³⁴ It was mentioned earlier. Also see *Shāmi Min Ma'inis-Sirah*, p. 112.

⁶³⁵ My allusion here is to the reliable report: "... The Prophets are paternal

responsibility of the Muslims to safeguard the earth against the evil designs of the enemies of Islam.

4. The wisdom in the Journey that used Baytil-Maqdis as a stopover, instead of directly from the Grand Mosque at Makkah to the furthest Lote Tree, was: The Jews had thrown away the great honor of Revelation and Allāh's commandments as things worthless. Allāh (ﷻ) cursed them and prophethood was taken away from them forever, despite it having remained with them for a long period of time. The raising of a new Prophet was the announcement of the change in (moral and spiritual) leadership from one people to another, from one land to another and from the progeny of Israel to the progeny of Ismā'il. The Journey to Jerusalem was symbolic of the reverence that the place should invoke having been the spiritual center for centuries.⁶³⁶
5. The Prophet's choice of milk over wine when the two drinks were presented to him by Jibril, was to indicate that Islam is a natural religion. For, milk is not a perverted form of some other material, whereas wine is a chemically reprocessed form of grape or other juices. In addition, wine perverts a man's nature and robs him of his reason.
6. In Allāh's gathering together of the past Prophets and Messengers—the caravan of truth and guidance—in that blessed land was, firstly, that they may welcome the receiver of the Last Message. Secondly, it was a proof that Prophets and Messengers acknowledge each other and that Muhammad is the Final Prophet who completed the series. It also spoke of Muhammad's special position among the Prophets and Messengers.
7. The Prophet ﷺ witnessing some of Allāh's great signs in the kingdom of the heavens and the earth symbolically declared machinations of the disbelievers as unworthy of note. It

brothers; their mothers are different, but their religion is one." Reported by Bukhārī, Muslim and others; see it in *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (13/248-249, 652/H. 3442, 3443).

⁶³⁶ Ghazālī: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 137, Dr. Qalā'ji: *Qirā'tun-Jadidah*, p. 107.

contained a prophecy of their ultimate defeat while it also raised the moral situation of the Prophet ﷺ and his followers in their struggle against the disbelievers and their followers.

8. An event of such magnitude taking place thirteen years after the commissioning, was a proof that a palpable miracle had come and that more would come in the future as a means to honor and console the Prophet ﷺ without taxing the intellect (of the onlookers). In this way this miracle was different from those of the other Prophets — e.g., that of Musa — in that the miracle was not made a means for forcing his nation to either come to terms with him or get destroyed. Accordingly, we see that when the Prophet ﷺ was asked to go up into the heavens as a demonstration of a miracle, the answer given by Allāh was,

﴿قُلْ سُبْحَانَ رَبِّيَ هَلْ كُنْتُ إِلَّا بَشَرًا رَسُولًا﴾

“Say: Glory to my Lord. Am I any more than a Messenger?”⁶³⁷

Nevertheless, when he actually went, it was not said to the disbelievers that this was in answer to their demand.

9. The declaration of the five daily prayers as obligatory during the Ascension is a proof of its importance in the Islamic system of life. The five daily prayers ought to be, so to say, a means of spiritual ascension for the believers every time their inner souls get too engrossed in material affairs.⁶³⁸

In Search of Tribal Support

The Prophet ﷺ was constantly in search of a place to which he could emigrate where peaceful devotion to Allāh could be assured. That was the reason he had allowed his followers to emigrate to Abyssinia and the reason why he had been to Tā'if. Thereafter he offered himself to the adjoining tribes. The *Hajj* and Arab market-seasons were suitable for meeting important men and chiefs of tribes, as well as the common

⁶³⁷ Surat Al-Isra': 93.

⁶³⁸ See Ghazālī: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 137-143.

people. He sought from them help, support and protection without the condition that they should believe in his Message.⁶³⁹

Those days he used to address the people in these words: “O so-and-so. I am the Messenger of your Lord towards you.”⁶⁴⁰ He commands you to worship Him; associate not aught with Him; abandon what you worship besides Him; and that you should believe in me and protect me so that I can present to the people what I have been sent with.”⁶⁴¹

However, Abu Lahab would follow him in close range. When the Messenger was through with his offer, he would shout out, “People, do not give up the religion of your forefathers giving up the Lāt and Uzza deities and breaking the ties with the Banu Mālik bin Uqaysh, falling into the innovation this man has brought.”⁶⁴²

The tribes from whom the Prophet ﷺ sought protection but who refused included: Kindah — their chief was Mulayh or Fulayh;⁶⁴³ Banu

⁶³⁹ See: *Maghāzi Rasulullāh* by 'Urwah, pp. 117, a *Hadith* of Ibn Lahy'ah and stopping short at 'Urwah. It is therefore Disconnected (*Mursal*). Bayhaqi also recorded it in his *Dalā'il* (2/414) as a report of Musa bin 'Uqbah through Zuhri, with a *Mursal* chain. However, these two *Mursal* reports have their basis in *Sahih* reports as in the footnote after this.

⁶⁴⁰ Reported by Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (5/The Book of *Sunnah*/H. 4734); Ibn Mājah in the Introduction (Chapter 12, p. 73/H. 201); Ahmad: *Al-Fath* (20/267) being a *Hadith* of Jābir. Dhahabi mentioned it in his *Sirat*, p. 282, and said: “According to the conditions laid by Bukhāri.”

⁶⁴¹ Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a chain that includes Husayn bin 'Abdullah who was weak — Ibn Hishām (2/74); *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 232. Reported by Ahmad also: *Al-Musnad* (3/4920 and (4/341), through a chain other than that of Ibn Ishāq. Sā'ātī said in *Al-Fath* (20/216-217 and 65): “It has a Perfect (*Jaiyid*) chain.” The two verifiers of *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/44): “Its chain is *Hasan*, with a supporting narration in Ibn Hibbān (1683) being a report of Tāriq bin 'Abdullah Muhāribi. It was also reported by Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir*, (5/56-63/H. 4583-5690). Some of them are through routes similar to Ahmad and Ibn Ishāq. See its meaning in *Al-Mustadrak* (2/164) under the *Hadith* of Jābir. Hākim evaluated it as *Sahih* and Dhahabi agreed to it.

⁶⁴² This was mentioned in the narration of Ahmad and Ibn Ishāq mentioned above. According to a version in Ibn Ishāq in *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 232, through a *Hasan* chain being a narration of Tāriq Muhāribi, his uncle Abu Lahab used to follow him and stone him till his ankles bled.

⁶⁴³ Reported by Ibn Ishāq through Zuhri where it disconnected: *Ibn Hishām* (2/75), *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 232.

'Abdullah of the Kalb⁶⁴⁴ tribe, Banu Hanifah, whose response was harsh;⁶⁴⁵ Banu 'Āmir bin Sa'sa'ah. One of their men who was called Bayharah bin Firas remarked, "By God. If I could win over this man I could eat the Arabs... What do you have to say? Supposing we followed you and God gave you victory over the Arabs, will the rule of the land be for us?" The Prophet ﷺ replied, "Sovereignty rests with Allāh. He places it where He wills." He remarked, "Should we offer our necks to the Arab swords for your sake and when you have overcome their resistance, sovereignty be for others? We have no use for your mission."⁶⁴⁶ He also presented himself to Muhārib bin Khasafah, Fazārah, Ghassān, Murrah, Sulaym, 'Abs, Banu Nadr, Banu Bakka', 'Udhrah, Hadārimah,⁶⁴⁷ Rabi'ah, Banu Shaybān who were headed by Mafruq bin 'Amr, Hāni bin Qabisah and Muthanna bin Hārithah. They sought excuses on various grounds, one of them having the lack of assurance of ultimate political power, Muthanna said, "One problem is, we have lately entered into a pact with the Persians to the effect that we shall neither alter the borders with them nor give refuge to anyone who endeavors to do so. And, as I see it, you have brought something that the rulers of the world do not appreciate. Had it been an inter-Arab struggle, we could have made an attempt. (But to defy the Persians would be rather difficult)." The Prophet ﷺ told them that by being frank in their talk and decent in their behavior they had mitigated the effects of their rejection. However, the nature of the religion that he had brought could not be taken up as a cause, except by accepting the whole of it. "Would you then," he asked them, "like to wait for a while (and not oppose me actively) until Allāh has bequeathed you their lands, property and women? Will you then praise Allāh and exalt Him then?" (Meaning, will you become Muslims?) Nu'mān bin Sharik said, "Yes, by Allāh." In reply, the Prophet ﷺ recited to them the Verse:

⁶⁴⁴ Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—Ibn Hishām (2/75), *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 232 and it is weak.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibn Ishaq—Ibn Hishām (2/75-76). The name of the immediate narrator was not given.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibn Ishāq from Zuhri—Ibn Hishām (2/76) through a *Mursal* report.

⁶⁴⁷ These were mentioned by Ibn Sa'd in his *Tabaqāt* (1/216-217) via a *Hadith* of Wāqidi.

﴿إِنَّا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ شَهِيدًا وَمُبَشِّرًا وَنَذِيرًا ۖ وَدَاعِيًا إِلَى اللَّهِ بِإِذْنِهِ وَسِرَاجًا مُنِيرًا﴾

"Surely, We have sent you a witness (to truth), giving glad tidings, a warner, one calling to Allāh by His leave, and a glowing lamp."⁶⁴⁸

The Prophet ﷺ was pleased with their good behavior.⁶⁴⁹

It were the Madinan people who responded most positively to his call. When he offered Islam to Suwayd bin Sāmit he neither announced his own acceptance nor did he remain unconcerned. He praised the Qur'ān when recited to him. He returned to his people almost convinced of the truth of Islam. He died in the Bu'āth battle. Some of his tribesmen used to say that he died a Muslim.⁶⁵⁰

Ibn Ishāq⁶⁵¹ has a report that a delegation from Banu 'Abdul-Ashhal came down to Makkah in their effort to enter into a pact with the Quraysh against their Khazraj enemies. They were led by Abu Haysar and Anas bin Rāfi'. They were also accompanied by Iyās bin Mu'ādh. When the Prophet ﷺ heard of them he went up to them and sat down with them for talks. He asked them, "Are you interested in something better than what you came here for?" They asked, "What could that be?" He replied, "I am a Messenger of Allāh. He has sent me to the people to invite them to worship none but Allāh, associating not aught with Him. He has also sent down a Book to me." Iyās bin Mu'ādh, then a very young man, remarked, "My people! Surely this is better than what you have come here for." Abu Hayser reproached him (for talking too much). So he stayed quiet. It is said that his people heard him declaring Allāh's Divinity, acknowledging His Greatness and praising Him at the time of his death. They were sure he died a believer. Obviously, Iyās

⁶⁴⁸ Surat Al-Ahzāb: 45-46.

⁶⁴⁹ The story of the Prophet ﷺ meeting with Rabi'ah was reported by Ibn Hibbān in his *Sirat*, pp. 93-101.

⁶⁵⁰ The full story was reported by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain, because of the dropping of names of several narrators—Ibn Hishām (2/77-79).

⁶⁵¹ Ibn Hishām (2/80-81) narrated through a *Hasan* chain.

had picked up the message of Islam at that meeting.

In the eleventh year after commissioning,⁶⁵² the Prophet ﷺ sought the help and support of some Khazraj people. He had met them at 'Aqabah (in Mina). They sat down with him listening. He recited the Qur'ān to them and invited them to Islam. What had made them inclined to accepting it was that they lived by the Jews as their neighbors. They knew that they were the holders of the Book, and pretty knowledgeable. Whenever a dispute arose between them and the Jews, the Jews did not fail to remind them that, "A Messenger, awaited for quite a while, was about to appear. When he appears We shall (be with him) and destroy you in the manner 'Ād and Iram were destroyed."

When the Prophet ﷺ invited them to Islam, they began to cast searching looks at each other. They said, "By God you know that he is the same Prophet the Jews have been talking of. So, let them not outsmart you." Therefore, they all embraced Islam. They told him then, "We have left our people in contempt and hatred of each other. Maybe Allāh will unite them by you. We shall go to them and present them with what you have brought. We shall tell them about ourselves having embraced Islam. Maybe Allāh will unite them under you. If that happens then no one will be more powerful than you."

They left him after that, promising to return the next year during the same season.

When they reached Madinah they spoke to their people about the Prophet ﷺ and invited them to Islam. They kept propagating the message until Islam began to spread among them. A point was reached when not a family of the *Ansār* was left but Islam had

⁶⁵² Ibn Ishāq thought they were six—*Sirat Ibn Hishām* (2/82). Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/164): "Musa bin 'Uqbah however, according to a narration he has from Zuhri, and from 'Urwah bin Zubayr that they were eight. Ibn Sa'd mentioned both the two opinions. When he spoke of the narratives which fixed the number as six, which happens to be Ibn Ishāq's narration, he said, "Muhammad bin 'Umar Wāqidi said, 'This is what is well established about them, which is unanimously believed.'" See *At-Tabaqāt* (1/219).

entered into it.⁶⁵³

There was another factor which had helped in softening their attitudes. It was the Bu'āth battle.⁶⁵⁴ Bukhārī⁶⁵⁵ informs us on the authority of 'Āishah ؓ: "The battle of Bu'āth was Allāh's preparation for the Prophet ﷺ because of which he was able to penetrate (with his message). That was the day when their chiefs were dispersed, their leaders killed and they were left badly injured. Thus Allāh prepared them for the acceptance of Islam."

LESSONS

1. Pagan societies will never be without men like Abu Jahl. And, in every age and every place, they will remain as examples of Abu Lahab in their thoughts, ideas and attitudes, acting as barriers

⁶⁵³ Narrated by Ibn Ishāq as a *Hadith* of 'Āsim bin 'Umar, narrating from the elders of his people. He insisted that it is a *Hadith*—*Ibn Hishām* (2/81-83). The two verifiers of *Sirat Ibn Hishām* declared the report weak because of the unknowability of the elders. Dr. 'Awdah however thought that the *Hadith* could be treated as *Hasan* because the elders in question were Companions of the Prophet ﷺ from whom 'Āsim used to narrate, such as, Jabir, Mahmud bin Labid, and his grandmother Rumaythah. See 'Awdah: *As-Siratu-Nabawiyah*, p. 231, and we agree with him.

Ibn Sa'd (1/217-219) also reported this *Hadith* through Wāqidi. That report has additional information such as the Prophet's request that he be protected until he could deliver the message of his Lord. They refused until they could work out peace between themselves in Madinah. 'Urjun however states that this is the first 'Uqbah Pledge, the one that followed it (12) is the second, and the one that followed it (73 persons) was the Great Pledge. See *Muhammad Rasulullāh* and *Muslim* (2/379 and what follows).

⁶⁵⁴ Ibn Hajar said while explaining the *Hadith* of 'Āishah ؓ in *Al-Fath* (14/1262/H. 3777): "It is a place. Some said a fort. Another opinion is that it was a farm belonging to Banu Qurayzah about two miles from Madinah. A fight took place between the Aws and the Khazraj at that place, where many of their chieftains had been killed. That was five years before *Hijrah*. Some said five, others more, but the first opinion is the correct one. So lots of their chieftains were killed most of whom were too proud to enter into the fold of Islam to be submitted to anyone's rule. 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy bin Salul was also of that nature."

⁶⁵⁵ *Al-Fath* (14/262/H. 3777).

before the callers to truth, acting exactly like Abu Lahab acted against his nephew Muhammad ﷺ. Whenever they have the means, they will use them to spread the notion that the callers are the misguided ones, inviting people to a new religion, or, outright, a fifth column. The Prophet ﷺ did not take notice of Abu Lahab. He kept working on his mission. The callers therefore, should not feel seriously concerned about this class of men.

2. It is necessary for the callers to knock on every door that they think will open for them new opportunities for their religion. They should not be disheartened by initial rejections; no matter how often they have to repeat their efforts with individuals or groups. They should and not be disheartened by the immediate results.

The First 'Aqabah Pledge

The next year, which happened to be the twelfth year after commissioning, twelve Madinan Muslims came down for *Hajj*. Some of them were among those who had met the Prophet of Islam the year before and had embraced his call. They met the Prophet ﷺ and some of his Companions in a place called 'Aqabah (at Mina). They entered into a pledge with him. Bukhāri,⁶⁵⁶ Muslim,⁶⁵⁷ Nasa'i,⁶⁵⁸ Ahmad,⁶⁵⁹ Ibn Ishāq,⁶⁶⁰ Ibn Sa'd⁶⁶¹ and others have preserved the report of 'Ubādah bin Sāmit who was of those Muslims who had come down for *Hajj* from Madinah. What they report about the pledge is as follows:

'Ubādah said, "The Prophet ﷺ told them, 'Give me your pledge that you will not associate aught with Allāh. You will not steal, commit fornication, will not kill your children, will not slander (women) and will not disobey me in anything good and virtuous. Then, whosoever remained true to his pledge will have his reward

⁶⁵⁶ *Al-Fath* (15/74/H. 3892) and the words are his.

⁶⁵⁷ *Sahih Muslim* (2/1331/H. 1709).

⁶⁵⁸ *An-Nasa'i* (7/141-142)

⁶⁵⁹ *Al-Musnad* (5/313).

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibn Hishām* (2/85-86), via a *Hasan* chain.

⁶⁶¹ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/219-220)—a narration of Wāqidi, so the chain is very weak.

with Allāh, and whosoever committed an evil, and Allāh concealed it, his affair is with Allāh: He might punish if He will or forgive if He will." So they took the pledge on those words.

In the report with Ibn Ishāq, 'Ubādah said,⁶⁶² "So we pledged with the Prophet, a women's pledge."⁶⁶³ That was at a time when fighting was disallowed."

When they were ready to return to their lands, the Prophet ﷺ sent with them Mus'ab bin 'Umayr to recite to them the *Qur'ān*, teach them Islam and instruct them in their religion. He came to be referred to as the 'Madinan Reciter.' He stayed in Madinah with As'ad bin Zurārah."⁶⁶⁴

Abu Dāwud,⁶⁶⁵ Ibn Ishāq⁶⁶⁶ and others have reported on the

⁶⁶² *Ibn Hishām* (2/86).

⁶⁶³ This is in reference to the pledge between the Prophet ﷺ and the Muslim women, on the second day after the fall of Makkah, as we shall see later in this book. That report does not speak of pledge on *Jihād*.

⁶⁶⁴ See in this connection Ibn Ishāq, who quotes without a chain and *Ibn Hishām* (2/86); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (2/438) and Dhahabi in his *Sirat*, p. 294, reporting Musa bin 'Uqbah quoting Zuhri to the effect that he sent him toward them after he had met six persons near 'Aqabah. He also reported in his *Dalā'il* (2/438) through Ibn Ishāq as a narration of 'Āsim bin 'Umar, however, in *Disconnected (Mursal)* form that the Prophet ﷺ sent him after them, after they had written to him. He also quoted in his *Dalā'il* through Ibn Ishāq, a report handed down by 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr and 'Abdullah bin Mughirah bin Mu'ayqib, that the Prophet ﷺ sent Mus'ab bin 'Umayr together with the twelve persons who had taken the pledge during the First Aqabah Pledge. Ibn Sa'd (1/220) reports that the Prophet ﷺ sent him to them when they wrote him after returning to Madinah, requesting him to send someone who could teach them the *Qur'ān*. However, the chain of transmission consists of Wāqidi. In any case, I found that there are two narratives with Ibn Ishāq that say that the Prophet ﷺ sent Mus'ab along with the *Ansār* when they returned. A third report says that he sent him after they had left and had asked for him to be sent. This agrees with the report of Ibn Sa'd and the two statements can be reconciled by saying that there were six persons who first became Muslims. They requested him to send someone as a teacher. So he sent him after the next *Hajj* season along with the twelve mentioned here.

⁶⁶⁵ *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (1/645-646/H. 1069).

⁶⁶⁶ Through a *Hasan* chain from *Ibn Hishām* (2/87). Others have also reported

authority of 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Ka'b bin Mālīk that the first to establish Friday prayer in Madinah was As'ad bin Zurārah. When they became forty in number, Mus'ab bin 'Umayr led them in prayers. The Prophet ﷺ had written to him that he was to assemble them for the Friday prayers.⁶⁶⁷

Quite many people of the *Ansār* embraced Islam at the hands of Mus'ab who worked in cooperation with As'ad bin Zurārah. Of the important figures that embraced Islam were Usayd bin Hudayr and Sa'd bin Mu'adh. In fact, the day the two embraced Islam, the whole of Banu 'Abdul-Ashhal, to the last man and woman,⁶⁶⁸ entered into the fold of Islam, except for Asayram, 'Amr bin Thābit bin Waqsh. He delayed his Islam until the Uhud battle, embracing Islam that very day, taking part in the battle, and getting killed before he could prostrate himself to Allāh once. When the Prophet ﷺ was told about him he remarked.⁶⁶⁹

No *Ansār* family was left but some of its men or women had embraced Islam, except for the houses of Banu Umaiyah bin Zayd, Khatmah, Wa'il, Wāqif, and the so-called Awsullah, that is, Aws bin Hārithah. The poet Abu Qays bin Aslat was from the last mentioned family. They obeyed him in all affairs. He restrained them until the

through his chain, apart from Abu Dāwud, e.g., *Ibn Majāh* (1/343-344/The Book of *Salāt*), as well as Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/187).

⁶⁶⁷ Dārāqutni, as said Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/75) and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/166): "There is something unfamiliar in the chain of narration, Allāh knows best."

⁶⁶⁸ Ibn Ishāq has reported through a *Hasan* chain the Islam of Usayd, Mu'adh, Banu 'Abdul-Ashhal, but it is a *Disconnected (Mursal)* report for it stops at 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr and 'Ubaydullah bin Mughirah bin Mu'ayqib—*Ibn Hishām* (2/88-90).

⁶⁶⁹ Ibn Ishāq in his book *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, mentioned the story that tells of his late entry into Islam, and his story on the day of Uhud, through a reliable chain, through Abu Hurayrah ؓ, as reported by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (11/286). Bukhārī preserved the story of the day of Uhud without citing his name—*Al-Fath* (11/286/H. 2808), and *Muslim* (3/1509/H. 1900); *Abu Dāwud* (3/43/H. 2537), but he did not mention the Prophet's words, "He made small efforts but achieved great results."

battle of the Ditch in the fifth year after *Hijrah*.⁶⁷⁰

Mus'ab bin 'Umayr ؓ returned to the Prophet ﷺ before the next year's *Hajj*, that is, the twelfth year after commissioning, to convey to the Prophet ﷺ the good news of the success of his mission at Madinah by the grace of Allāh.⁶⁷¹

The Second 'Aqabah Pledge

A large number of Madinan Muslims came up to Makkah to perform the pilgrimage at the head of the thirteenth year after commissioning. They were a part of a larger group of pagans from Madinah. The Muslims were led by a man called Bara' bin Ma'rur.⁶⁷²

The Madinan Muslims questioned each other about how long they should allow the Prophet ﷺ to wander about between the Makkah mountains, rejected and fearful of his life.⁶⁷³

Several secret meetings took place between them and the Prophet ﷺ. Finally, a large meeting was decided and a place chosen. It was to ratify a treaty that happens to be one of the most important treaties in the annals of human history.

Ibn Ishāq⁶⁷⁴ reports this event through Ka'b bin Mālīk. He said, "...We went up for pilgrimage. During the middle of the stay at Mina we agreed on meeting the Prophet ﷺ at 'Aqabah. When the pilgrimage was over and the night in which we were to meet

⁶⁷⁰ Reported by Ibn Ishāq as *Mursal*—*Ibn Hishām* (2/91). See the story in detail in Ibn Kathir's *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/168-173).

⁶⁷¹ Ibn Ishāq reported his return to Madinah—*Ibn Hishām* (2/92) without a chain.

⁶⁷² A narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/92).

⁶⁷³ A narration of Jābir bin 'Abdullah ؓ in Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/270) whose transmission chain is *Sahih*. See Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (2/1442) and Dhahabi's *Sirat*, p. 289.

⁶⁷⁴ Through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/94-97). Reported by Ahmad through the same route: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/271-275), *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (2/923) in brief, whose chain the redactor declared *Sahih*; Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/42-45) and Tabarāni as in *Al-Majma'*; Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (2/444-447) as well as in *Sunan* (9/9); Ibn Hibbān in *Al-Mawārid*, p. 408; and

arrived, we slept with our co-travelers as usual. When a third of the night had passed, we came out moving secretly, cat-like, to meet the Messenger of Allāh. We assembled in a narrow pass at 'Aqabah. We were seventy-three, two of whom were women: Nusaybah bint Ka'b (Umm 'Umārah) and Asma' bint 'Amr bin 'Adi (Umm Mani').

"We assembled in the pass waiting for the Prophet ﷺ. He came with 'Abbās bin 'Abdul-Muttalib. The latter was still on the religion of his people. He was there to see that the affairs were settled to satisfaction. When we had settled down he said, 'O Khazraj people (the Arabs used to call the Khazraj and Aws of the *Ansār* as the Khazraj people). As you know, Muhammad is of us. We have protected him from our people like we protect ourselves. So far, he has the strength and support of his tribe with him and is well protected. However, he wishes to abandon this and join you. Now, if you think that you will take good care of him, protecting him against his adversaries, then go ahead and act on your resolve. For, don't forget that at present he has the strength of his tribe with him and is well protected in his land and among his people.' We said, 'We have heard your words. Now, you should speak on O Messenger of Allāh ﷺ and choose for yourself and your Lord what you think is best.'

"Thereafter the Prophet ﷺ spoke to them. First he recited some Qur'ān, invited to belief in Allāh and inspired them with the love for Islam. After that he added, 'I seek your pledge that you will protect me as you protect your women and children.' Barā' bin Ma'rjūr took him by his hand and said, 'By Him who sent you a Messenger with the truth, we shall protect you from what we protect our children. So, we take the pledge O Messenger of Allāh. And we are, O Messenger of Allāh, men of war and weapons that we have inherited from generation after generation.' But, even as Barā' was speaking to the Prophet ﷺ, Abu Haytham bin Tayhān spoke out saying, 'O Messenger of Allāh. We have a treaty with the people,

Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak*, adding, "This is a *Sahih* report that the two (Bukhārī and Muslim) did not record." Dhahabi said, "*Sahih*." Albānī said in the footnotes of *Ghazālī's Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 159, that the *Hadith* is *Sahih*.

(meaning the Jews). We shall repudiate it. But, the question is, do you think if we did that and Allāh gave you victory, you will leave us and come back to your people?' The Prophet ﷺ smiled and said, 'Rather, my blood is your blood and my life is your life.'⁶⁷⁵ I am of you and you are of me. I shall fight him who fights you and make peace with him whom you make peace with.'"

"Agreements had been reached over the conditions of the pledge. But before the actual pledge would start, two men of the *Ansār*—'Abbās bin 'Ubādah bin Nadlah and As'ad bin Zurārah—who had embraced Islam one or two years earlier, wished to warn their people of the dangers of their resolve. They wanted their people to be aware of the risks they would be facing by the pledge and be sure of their readiness to fight. Ibn 'Abbās bin Nadlah said, 'Do you realize what it means to be pledging your hands to this man?' They replied, 'Yes, we do.' He said, 'You are pledging to fight the whites and the blacks. Therefore, if you think that when your wealth is visited by destruction, and your best men by death, then, at that point, you will hand him over (to his enemies), then withdraw right now. For, by Allāh, if you did that, it would mean humiliation in this world and the Hereafter. But, if you feel you will keep the word of promise at the cost of destruction of your wealth and death of your noble men, then go ahead and take him with you, for, by Allāh, that would be one of the best things for this world and the next.' They said in reply, 'We shall take him with us at the risk of our wealth and death to our noble men. But, the question is, what do we get in return, O Messenger of Allāh?' He replied, 'Paradise.' They said, 'Stretch your hand.' When he did that, they pledged their fealty to him."⁶⁷⁶

When the people were ready for the pledge, As'ad bin Zurārah interrupted again saying, "Take it easy, O Yathribites. We didn't come to him but in full knowledge that he is a Messenger of Allāh, and that taking him with us would mean to part ways with the rest

⁶⁷⁵ Ibn Hishām (2/96) said: It means inviolability. That is, my protection is your protection, my inviolability is your inviolability.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibn Ishāq, a *Mursal Hadith* because it stops at 'Āsim bin 'Umar—Ibn Hishām (2/10).

of the Arabs, laying the lives of the best of your men, and that swords could cut you down. If you think you can persevere through these trials, go ahead and take him with you. And, of course, your rewards will be with Allāh. But, on the other hand, if you have any reservation, then leave him where he is now. Such a course of action would be easier to win Allāh's pardon." They told him, "O As'ad, remove your hand. We shall never let go this opportunity and shall not betray our promise."⁶⁷⁷

When As'ad had got his people's determination reconfirmed, he placed his hand on the Prophet's, making a pledge. His people followed him in taking the oath, everyone of them, man after man, receiving the good news of Paradise unto him who would stay true to his pledge.⁶⁷⁸

As regards the two women's pledge, Ibn Ishāq⁶⁷⁹ says that it is thought that they too placed their hands in the Prophet's although the Prophet ﷺ was not used to taking women's hands into his. In later days he would simply say the words of oath and when they had said they were willing, he would say, "You may go now. I have taken your pledge."

When the oath-taking was over, the Prophet ﷺ told them, "Nominate twelve of you as monitors over you." They nominated nine from Khazraj and three from Aws. They were:

⁶⁷⁷ A discussion over this narration has preceded that of Ahmad through Jābir . It is *Sahih* and contains the conditions of the pledge.

⁶⁷⁸ See the *Hadith* of Jābir quoted earlier. Ibn Ishāq mentioned through a *Hasan* chain that the first one to clasp the Prophet's hand to make a pledge was Bara' bin Ma'rur. On the other hand he narrated without a chain that the Banu Najjār claimed that it was As'ad bin Zurārah who pledged first, whereas, Bani Abdul-Ashhal say that the first one was Abu Haytham bin Tayhān. See *Ibn Hishām* (2/101). Probably each considered what transpired between their tribes and the Prophet ﷺ, otherwise, the better known fact is that it was As'ad bin Zurārah who was the first, for he was the leader of the *Hajj* group, and a fort for the mission of Islam in Madinah. See *Ar-Rahiq Al-Makhtum*, p. 168, footnote.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibn Hishām* (2/120) without a chain. What Ibn Ishāq reported is affirmed by Bukhāri in same meaning, see *Al-Fath* (20/99/H. 5288); *Muslim* (3/1489/H. 1866) and others.

'Ubādah bin Sāmit, Bara' bin Ma'rur, 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah, Sa'd bin Rabi', Abu Umāmah As'ad bin Zurārah, Sa'd bin 'Ubādah, Mundhir bin 'Amr, Usayd bin Hudayr, Sa'd bin Khaythamah, 'Abdullah bin Harām, Rāfi' bin Mālik, and Abu Haytham bin Tayhān.⁶⁸⁰ Ibn Ishāq⁶⁸¹ has listed the names of everyone of the seventy-three that took the pledge that night.

Ibn Ishāq⁶⁸² reports that the Prophet ﷺ told the monitors, "You are custodians over your people similar to the custodians of 'Isā bin Maryam's apostles, while I am the custodian over the people—i.e., the Muslims in general." They said yes in consent.

Bukhāri,⁶⁸³ *Muslim*⁶⁸⁴ and Ibn Ishāq⁶⁸⁵ have given us the articles of the pledge. But, tracing it through Jābir ., Ahmad⁶⁸⁶ and Bayhaqi⁶⁸⁷ give us the details that others missed. Jābir said "We

⁶⁸⁰ Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/97-98) so it is weak.

⁶⁸¹ Without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/109-120).

⁶⁸² *Ibn Hishām* (2/100) through a *Hasan* chain but it is *Mursal*, for it stops at 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr, hence it is weak.

⁶⁸³ *Al-Fath* (27/8/H. 7056) and (27/223/H. 7299, 71200). And, if the words of the two reports are brought together, then they represent the narration of Ibn Ishāq. And the chain of the *Hadith* (7199) too are the same as those of Ibn Ishāq. Ibn Hajar noted that this took place at the second 'Aqabah, see *Al-Fath* (27/8).

⁶⁸⁴ *Sahih Muslim* (3/1470/H. 1709), with a similar chain as of Ibn Ishāq as it is in Bukhāri in *The Book of Ahkām: Al-Fath* (27/223/H. 7199, 71200) and in the same words as of Ibn Ishāq.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibn Hishām* (2/108) and its narrators are trustworthy except Ibn Ishāq, and he explicitly stated it was a *Hadith* and hence its chain is of *Hasan* grade.

⁶⁸⁶ *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/270). Hākim traced it in *Al-Mustadrak* (2/624-625) declaring it *Sahih* and Dhahabi agreeing with him. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/175): "This chain is Perfect (*Jaiyid*) following Muslim's conditions, although he did not trace it." Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (15/75) that the chain is *Hasan*. Albāni said about it in the footnotes of *Fiqhus-Sirah* of Ghazālī (p. 157): "It has a weakness, viz., a 'so-and-so' by Ibn Zubayr who was known for removing names of narrators above him. But the narrative of Layth bin Sa'd is not through him, and therefore, its trustworthiness or just acceptability will depend on supportive elements. Allāh knows best. See Sā'ati's tracing of the *Hadith*."

⁶⁸⁷ See the narration of Jābir in *Dalā'il* of Bayhaqi (2/443). As for the report through 'Ubayd bin Rifā'ah, it is in *Dalā'il* (2/452). Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/18) in reference to the narration of 'Ubayd: "This is a Perfect &

asked, 'O Messenger of Allāh. What's the pledge over?' He replied,

1. 'On hearing and obeying — in easy as well as straitened circumstances.
2. On expending in charity — in prosperity and poverty.
3. On enjoining the virtuous and forbidding the evil.
4. That you should stand up for Allāh, unmindful of criticism of the critic.
5. And that you will help me when I come to you, protecting me against whatever you protect your women and children against. In return, you will have Paradise."

The above are the words of Ahmad.

Ibn Ishāq's report comes from Ibn Sāmit who said, "We pledged our hands to the Prophet ﷺ on hearing and obedience, in ease and difficulties, pleasing to us or displeasing, preferring it over our own selves, that we shall not dispute the affairs with those given charge, that we shall speak the truth wherever we are, fearing not the criticism of the critic."

By the time the oath-taking ceremony was over, the monitors appointed, and the people were about to leave the place, *Shaytān* (Satan) got wind of the pledge. In order that the pagans pounce upon the Muslims before they dispersed, he shouted out from the peak of a mountain in the highest pitch possible, "O people of Mina. Are you interested in the reproached one and those of his companions who gave up their (ancient) religion, who have gathered declaring war on you?" The Prophet ﷺ said, "This is Azabb (name of the *Shaytān*) who lives in 'Aqabah. He is the son of Azib." (Then, addressing the *Shaytān*,) "As for you, O enemy of Allāh, we shall soon free ourselves for you."

Strong (*Jaiyid-Qawi*) chain, although they didn't trace it." Dr. Sulayman Sa'ud said in his thesis on *Hijrah*, p. 92: It is a weak *Hadith* through this chain, but it gets stronger with the previously mentioned reports about the conditions laid for the pledge like the report of Jābir."

When they had heard *Shaytān*'s cry 'Abbās bin 'Ubādah bin Nadlah said, "By Him Who has sent you with truth, if you wished we could fall upon the people of Mina (pagan pilgrims) tomorrow with our swords." The Messenger ﷺ told them, "We haven't been ordered that yet. For the moment, return to your tents." So they returned and slept peacefully till the morning.⁶⁸⁸

Ka'b bin Mālik reported, "The next day a few chosen men of the Quraysh came to our tents and said, 'O Khazrajites. We learn that you have come here to take our man away with you and that you are pleading to fight us. But, you must understand that there is no tribe on the earth that we would hate more, than fighting you.' So, (continues Ibn Sāmit,) we sent a few pagans from amongst us to assure them in God's name that there was no such move—at least not in our knowledge. And (Sāmit added,) they spoke the truth because they knew nothing about it. (Sāmit also added,) We pretended to look into each other's faces questioningly. However, even after the pilgrims had left Mina, the Quraysh continued with their inquiry⁶⁸⁹ to conclude that after all the oath-taking seemed to have taken place."

Some reports suggest that they went out pursuing the people. But they couldn't get hold of any but Sa'd bin 'Ubādah and Mundhir bin 'Amr. Of the two, Mundhir escaped but Sa'd was caught. They took him back to Makkah in chains, pulling him by his hair and fisting him until Jubayr bin Mut'im and Harith bin Harb came to his rescue. Sa'd used to provide them security when their caravans passed by Madinah, heading to, or coming back from Shām.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁸ Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain as a *Hadith* of Ka'b bin Mālik in the story of the second Pledge of 'Aqabah — *Ibn Hishām* (2/101-102).

⁶⁸⁹ That is, they exhausted all means of investigation.

⁶⁹⁰ Ka'b's narration, same source (2/101-104), and it seems that Dr. 'Awdah was mistaken when he said that the story of capturing Sa'd and Mundhir is of a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain. Perhaps he judged it in the light of the chain that is specific to 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy bin Salul having no knowledge of the issue at 'Aqabah. According to us it was a casual story that came during the narration of Ka'b which goes with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain. See: the *Sirat* in the *Sahihayn*; in *Ibn Ishāq*, p. 362; and *Ibn Hishām* (2/103).

Lessons and Conclusions

This pledge had both short and long-term consequences. Of the short-term consequences, some are as follows:

1. The *Ansār* had realized that their support of the Prophet ﷺ would win them the enmity of his enemies not excluding the Jews and Christians. They knew it would lead to *Jihād* although the articles of the pledge did not mention in explicit terms the removal of anyone who stood up in arm in the way of Islamic propagation.
2. The pagan effort to get hold of the Madinan Muslims upon hearing that they proposed to help and support the Prophet ﷺ demonstrates the enmity of the pagans and disbelievers towards truth at all times.
3. The secrecy employed in this affair, and in other situations is to demonstrate the legality of such means of precaution, especially when they are affairs that affect the future of the mission.
4. This pledge was the basis on which the Muslims and the Prophet ﷺ himself emigrated to Madinah.
5. When Islam became stronger in Madinah, those who were concealing their faith began to reveal it.
6. The Makkan heathens tightened their noose around the Makkan Muslims when they realized the danger in the Prophet's contacts with the Madinan Muslims. This tightening of the noose also led the Prophet ﷺ to allow the Muslims to emigrate to Madinah.
7. As for the long-term consequences, this pledge became the basis on which the Islamic state was established in Madinah and its expansion from there to all corners of the world was achieved.⁶⁹¹
8. In view of the importance of the pledge and the short and long-term consequences, those who participated in it, and in the one before it, acquired great importance no lesser than those who

⁶⁹¹ See: *Min Ma'ini-Sirah*, p. 136, and *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Buti, p. 132.

fought at Badr or those who migrated twice—once to Abyssinia and a second time to Madinah and those who participated in the Ridwān Pledge.

9. *Shaytān's* enmity of the truth and his pain at the rise of the star of Islam is quite apparent. He was always expected to incite the enemies of Islam against the Prophet ﷺ and the people of Madinah.

10. The 'Aqabah pledge laid the foundations for the projects that were to be executed later at Madinah after *Hijrah*. Foremost among them was *Jihād* and defense of the Faith. That was a religious commandment for all times, even if Allāh had not allowed it in Makkah. However, Allāh seemed to have inspired in the Prophet ﷺ that such an action would be soon required. In evidence we can quote the Prophet's words: when 'Abbās bin 'Ubadah asked his leave to begin the fight in Mina itself, he replied, "We haven't been ordered that yet."

There is a consensus that the first Verse allowing the Muslims to fight was that of *Surat Al-Hajj*. It said,

﴿أُذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَاتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمْ ظَلِمُوا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ نَصْرِهِمْ لَقَدِيرٌ﴾

"Permitted are those who have been attacked. And surely Allāh is capable of helping them."⁶⁹²

This Verse was revealed when Abu Bakr ؓ showed his displeasure when the Makkans exiled their Prophet ﷺ and said, "They have exiled their Prophet—we belong to Allāh and to Him we return. Surely, they will be destroyed." When the Verse was actually revealed, Abu Bakr ؓ remarked, "I knew that there is going to be some fighting."⁶⁹³

⁶⁹² *Surat Al-Hajj*: 39.

⁶⁹³ Nasa'i reported in his *Sunan* (2/52), as well as *At-Tirmidhi* (4/151) as a narration of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ, and said: "The *Hadith* is *Hasan*." However, Albāni said in the *Sahih Sunan* of *Tirmidhi* (3/79/H. 3397) that the tradition is *Sahih*; Ahmad in *Al-Musnad* (3/262/Shākir) being a *Hadith* of Ibn 'Abbās about which Shākir said that its chain is *Sahih*; Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (5/430-431); as well as Tabari in his *Tafsir* (17/123).

11. Allāh's mercy demanded that fighting should not be prescribed for the believers until they had found a state in which they could find refuge. Madinah was the first such Islamic state.⁶⁹⁴ This is one aspect. Another is that they were not ordered to fight until they had received a training that would qualify them to fight in Allāh's path.
12. From this we know that the legality of *Jihād* was declared after *Hijrah* alone and not as Ibn Ishāq⁶⁹⁵ understands, from the day of the second pledge at 'Aqabah.⁶⁹⁶

Note:

Ibn Ishāq⁶⁹⁷ has recorded through a chain not quite untrustworthy, that Bara' bin Ma'rūr ؓ came to Makkah to participate in the pledge at 'Aqabah. During his journey, he had prayed facing the Ka'bah. When he met the Prophet ﷺ, he told him, "O Messenger of Allāh. I took up this journey as a Muslim. I felt that I should not show my back to Makkah and so prayed facing it. But my companions censured me until I have become uncomfortable with it. So what do you have to say?" The Prophet ﷺ told him, "I am on a *Qiblah*. I wish you could remain on it." So Bara' returned to the *Qiblah* of the Prophet ﷺ and began to pray facing towards Shām.

The above means that the first in Islam to pray facing towards the Ka'bah was Al-Bara'.

⁶⁹⁴ See: Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 133.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibn Hishām (2/92-94). Hākim reported it in *Al-Mustadrak* and said: "This report is *Sahih*, meeting with the condition of the *Shaykhan* although they did not trace and record it," and Dhahabi agreed to it.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibn Hishām (2/108) through a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain.

⁶⁹⁷ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 132 and Abu Shahbah: *As-Siratun-Nabawiyah* (1/454) who remarked, "This happens to be one of the erroneous impressions of Ibn Ishāq."

Chapter 2

Emigration to Madinah

Reasons of *Hijrah*

(i) Persecution

From the day the Prophet ﷺ announced his mission, he and those who had believed in him began to face a variety of difficulties and oppressive measures. We have given a few details in an earlier chapter. When things became too difficult for him, the Prophet ﷺ was forced to look beyond Makkah for help and support of his cause. It resulted firstly in his Companions taking up the *Hijrah* journey (emigration) to Abyssinia and, secondly, in efforts of his own *Hijrah* to Tā'if and finally, *Hijrah* to Madinah.

What confirms that trials and persecutions were the cause of emigration is Bilāl's following words which he said when he was leaving Makkah, "... O Allāh, curse Shaybah bin Rabi'ah, 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah and Umaiya bin Khalaf in retaliation of these people expelling us from our land to the land of diseases..." (He said that because most people who went to Madinah fell sick in their early days - Translator.)¹

We can also quote the words of 'Āishah ؓ who said about her

¹ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (18/232/H. 1889).

father's reasons to emigrate to Madinah: "When tortures became unmanageable for Abu Bakr, he sought the Prophet's leave to emigrate."² That was also the reason why he had earlier wished to migrate to Abyssinia along with the rest of the believers. She said about it, "...When the Muslims faced persecutions, Abu Bakr left Makkah seeking to emigrate to Abyssinia..."³

Ibn Ishāq indeed mentions persecution of the Muslims as the only reason for emigration.

(ii) Availability of Support allows the Mission to move

The above can be deduced from the articles of the second pledge at 'Aqabah, as reported by Imam Ahmad through Jābir, by Ibn Ishāq,⁴ as well as others.⁵

(iii) Denial by the Quraysh Elite

Denial by eminent men of Quraysh, and, following them, the great majority of their common folk, forced the Prophet ﷺ to seek another people who testified to his mission. Sa'd bin Mu'adh worded it accurately when he said, "O Allāh, You are aware that no one is dearer to me for a fight against, than those who gave a lie to Your Messenger and exiled him..." According to a second version, "...than a people who gave a lie to Your Prophet and expelled him—of the Quraysh."⁶

Ibn Ishāq⁷ writes that of the several causes that led to the Prophet's emigration, Quraysh's denial was one.

² *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/271/H. 4093).

³ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/84/H. 3905).

⁴ See it under The second Pledge of 'Aqabah.

⁵ *Ibn Hishām* (2/121) without a chain, and therefore weak.

⁶ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/82-83/H. 3901) the first narration is from Ibn Numayr while the second by Abān bin Yazid. See also Ibn Hajar's comment on the *Hadith*.

⁷ *Ibn Hishām* (2/121) without a chain, and so it is weak.

(iv) Fear of Religious Ordeal (*Fitnah*)

This is apparent from 'Āishah's words who, when asked about emigration, said, "The situation with the believers was such that one of them would seek refuge for his religion with Allāh and His Messenger, fearing that he might be tried thereof..."⁸

Ibn Ishāq said, "The Quraysh harassed those of the Companions of the Prophet, and persecuted them for their religion until they forced them out of their homes. Thus some were put to test because of their religion, some others were (persistently) tortured for their faith, while others ran away from their lands, escaping them..."

(v) Permission to Fight Back

This has been mentioned by Ibn Ishāq.⁹ He said that the Verse:

﴿أُذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَاتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمْ ظَلَمُوا...﴾

"Those who have been fought are being allowed, for that they were wronged..."¹⁰

was revealed as the first Verse allowing the Muslims to retaliate against those who fought them. Ibn 'Abbās رضي الله عنه¹¹ has the same opinion, with a few others following him. Nonetheless, the believers were seeking nothing but Allāh's approval, bearing in His cause all the physical and mental tortures they had to undergo, including

⁸ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/81-82/H. 3900).

⁹ *Ibn Hishām* (2/121) mentioning it as a report of 'Urwah and others of the scholars.

¹⁰ *Surat Al-Hajj*: 39-41.

¹¹ Ibn Jawzi mentioned in *Zādul-Masir* (5/436) that Ibn 'Abbās said: The polytheists of Makkah used to persecute the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ and he would tell them: "Be patient, for I have not been ordered to fight." That remained until he migrated. Then Allāh sent down this Verse, and it was the first Verse that was revealed sanctioning retaliation." See *Al-Musnad* (262/H. 1865). Shākir said that its chain is *Sahih*; and *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (5/430-431).

separation from their wives, children and other dear ones.

It was in reference to this that Khabbāb bin Aratt remarked, "We emigrated with Allāh's Messenger seeking Allāh's approval and hence our rewards became due on Him..."¹²

There are many *Ahādith* (traditions) that speak of the merits of emigration¹³ in the way of Allāh, and the merits of those who emigrate. For, Islam will not be established without a structure supporting it and a State cannot be imagined without a piece of land where it is established with a sizable number of people who listen to, and obey the authorities who manage it.

Bukhārī¹⁴ reports on the authority of 'Āishah ؓ that the Prophet ﷺ told the Muslims in Makkah: "I was shown a vision of your place of emigration as a date-palm orchard between two lava tracts." "So," continues 'Āishah, "those who could migrate, migrated to Madinah directly, while most of those who had gone to Abyssinia, came back to it."

Permission granted for *Hijrah*

The First Emigrants

Bukhārī¹⁵ writes that the first emigrants to Madinah were Mus'ab bin 'Umayr and 'Abdullah bin Umm Maktum. Whereas Ibn

¹² *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (6/172/H. 1276).

¹³ See for example: *Sahih Muslim* (3/1488/H. 1865). It is the *Hadith* where a Bedouin asked the Prophet ﷺ about *Hijrah* and the Prophet ﷺ told him, "Woe unto you man. *Hijrah* is a tough thing." And *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/141/The Book of *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah*).

¹⁴ *Al-Fath* (15/88/H. 3905). Ahmad reported it (6/198) and Ibn Sa'd in *At-Tabaqāt* (1/226) with some difference in the wording. It can be noted that some narrations call Ibn Maktum 'Abdullah and others call him 'Amr. See Dhahabi: *Sirat*, p. 315, that is because people of Madinah said his name was 'Abdullah while the people of Iraq said his name was 'Amr. This was stated by Ibn Sa'd and others, as told of them by Ibn Hajar in the biography of 'Amr bin Umm Maktum in *Isābah* (2/523).

¹⁵ *Al-Fath* (15/118/H. 3924-3925).

Ishāq¹⁶ and Ibn Sa'd¹⁷ believe it was Abu Salamah bin 'Abdul-Asad. This is also Musa bin 'Uqbah's opinion.¹⁸ Ibn Hajar¹⁹ believes the two reports can be reconciled by saying that Abu Salamah had initially intended only a few days sojourn into Madinah in contrast to Mus'ab who had migrated for good in order to teach the new Muslims the Qur'ān, as ordered by the Prophet ﷺ.

Hijrah Ordeals

Umm Salamah has mentioned that when her husband Abu Salamah decided on the *Hijrah* journey, he wished to carry his wife and child along. When her people got wind of it, they caught up with him. They told him that they were not going to allow him to take their woman with him. So, they separated her from him. Then came Abu Salamah's own tribal people. They said they wouldn't allow the child to go with Abu Salamah if his wife was not allowed to travel with him. So, they took away the child. Abu Salamah alone was allowed to proceed. So, having lost her husband and child, Umm Salamah used to go up to a place called Abtah, and weep there until the evening. That went on for over a year. Finally, one of her tribesmen softened. He said to his tribesmen, "Won't you release this poor woman whom you have separated from her husband and child?" They told her, "If you wish to join your husband, you can go." She promptly collected her child from Abu Salamah's people and migrated to Madinah in the company of 'Uthmān bin Abu Talhah.²⁰

When Suhayb wished to migrate, the Makkans told him, "You came to us a pauper. You earned all your wealth here to be as well off as you are now. Do you now intend to leave with all your

¹⁶ Ibn Hishām (2/122) without a chain, but he mentioned the story of the Prophet's *Hijrah* through a *Hasan* chain.

¹⁷ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/226) through an unbroken chain being a narration of Wāqidi.

¹⁸ Reported by Zuhri as found in the *Sirat* of Dhahabi, p. 313, and it is *Mursal* (Disconnected).

¹⁹ *Al-Fath* (15/119/H. 33925).

²⁰ Reported by Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (2/123-124). The verifier said: "I could not find the tracing and reporting of the story of Abu Salamah's emigration except with Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain."

wealth? Well, we will not allow that to happen." Suhayb asked them, "How about if I gave you my wealth? Will you then let me go?" They agreed and he gave away his wealth to them. When the Prophet ﷺ came to know, he remarked, "Suhayb struck a good deal."²¹ According to a second report, when they tried to prevent him, he asked them, "Would you be interested in some gold in return of my journey out?" When they said yes, he told them to dig under the door-threshold; they would find gold there. (Having given away that) he left the town and joined up with the Prophet ﷺ at Quba. He remarked, "You struck a good deal! O Abu Yahya." Then he recited the Verse:

﴿وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَن يَشْرِي نَفْسَهُ ابْتِغَاءَ مَرْضَاتِ اللَّهِ . . .﴾

"And, among the people are some who will sell himself off in search of Allāh's Pleasure..."²²

Several reports are cited as Mus'ab bin 'Umayr being the cause of revelation of the following Verse, "And, there are some among the people who will sell themselves off in search of Allāh's Pleasure..." Tabari²³ however notes after mentioning all that has been reported,

²¹ Reported by Ibn Hishām, with a broken chain—*As-Sirat* (2/133). However, Hākim reported it in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/389) as a continuous chain, and said it is *Sahih*, meeting with the conditions set by Muslim although both of them did not trace it. Dhahabi had no remark to make. But Albāni agreed with Hākim in the footnote in *Fiqhus-Sirah* of Ghazālī, p. 166, and said, "It has a supporting narration in the *Hadith* of Suhayb. Tabarāni reported it as in the *Al-Majma'* (6/60), and Bayhaqi as in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/191). I may add, and the Prophet's words unto him when he saw him, 'O Abu Yahya, a profitable deal.'"

—Ahmad in the *Fadā'ilus-Sahābah* (2/828/H. 1509, *Mursal* (Disconnected) but its narrators are trustworthy men.

—It might be understood from several narrations that Suhayb had migrated to Madinah after the *Hijrah* of the Prophet ﷺ. This is what Ibn Hajar has confirmed in *Al-Isabāh* (2/195/biography no. 4104). See also *Zādul-Masir* and *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (1/360).

²² *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 207. The narration is in complete form in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/400) which Hākim declared *Sahih*.

²³ *Tafsir At-Tabari* (4/250/Shākir), see also: *Zādul-Masir* (1/223), and *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (1/360).

"The reports that have come about Mus'ab being the cause of revelation cannot be rejected because we do not have any other report saying why Allāh (ﷻ) revealed this Verse to His Messenger ﷺ. However, its implication applies to anyone who acted similarly." Ibn Kathir²⁴ nevertheless says after narrating all the reports, "But the majority of scholars believe it was revealed to cover every *Mujāhid* in the way of Allāh..." There is no contradiction between what Tabari and Ibn Kathir wrote, for, as we know, it is the generality of the words that counts and not the specificity of the cause.

'Umar's Migration along with some Others

Ibn Ishāq²⁵ relates from 'Umar ﷺ himself, "When we decided to move out to Madinah, myself, 'Ayyāsh bin Abu Rabi'ah and Hishām bin 'Āsi bin Wā'il the Sahmi agreed that the three of us will meet at *Tanādub* (*Adāt* of Banu Ghifār) above the Sarif area.²⁶ If one of us didn't show up, it meant he was held back by his tribe. Myself and 'Ayyāsh met at *Tanādub* but Hishām was held back, put to test and he failed in the test."

²⁴ *At-Tafsir* (1/360).

²⁵ Ibn Hishām (2/129-131) via *Hasan Isnād*. Ibn Hajar treated it *Sahih* in *Al-Isabāh* (3/604). It happens to be a narration of Ibn Sakan who carries the chain of Ibn Ishāq. This indeed is the correct report concerning the *Hijrah* of 'Umar ﷺ rather than the weak report that is popular among the people which tells that 'Umar ﷺ openly announced his intention to migrate. It also states that he said to the polytheists: "Whoever wishes his mother to wail him and his wife to be widowed may meet me behind this valley." The original report is with Ibn Athir (*Usdul-Ghābah*, 4/58). Albāni examined it in *Difa'* and ruled that it is weak.

It is also recorded by Ibn 'Asākir in *Mukhtasar Tārikh Dimashq*, Ibn Mansur's abridgment (18/278), through a weak report since there are three unknown transmitters.

²⁶ Bilādi said: "*Tanādub* and *Adāt* of Bani Ghifār are but one place. *Adāt* is a land that holds water which eventually becomes clay, while *Tanādub* are trees that grow on such a land. These trees can still be seen on the northern side of Wādi Sarif besides the grave of Maimunah ﷺ the Mother of the Believers. A village has sprung up on the western side some thirteen km from Makkah." See Also Muhammad Shirāb: *Al-Ma'ālimul-Athirah*, article, *Tanādub*.

When these Verses were revealed 'Umar ؓ wrote them down and sent them to Hishām bin 'Āsi. They said,

﴿قُلْ يٰعِبَادِيَ الَّذِينَ أَسْرَفُوا عَلَىٰ أَنفُسِهِمْ لَا تَقْنَطُوا مِن رَّحْمَةِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَغْفِرُ
الذُّنُوبَ جَمِيعًا إِنَّهُ هُوَ الْغَفُورُ الرَّحِيمُ ٥٣﴾ وَأَنِيبُوا إِلَىٰ رَبِّكُمْ وَأَسْلِمُوا لَهُ مِن
قَبْلِ أَن يَأْتِيَكُمُ الْعَذَابُ ثُمَّ لَا تُنصَرُونَ ٥٤﴾ وَأَتَّبِعُوا أَحْسَنَ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكُم
مِّن رَّبِّكُمْ مِن قَبْلِ أَن يَأْتِيَكُمُ الْعَذَابُ بَغْتَةً وَأَنتُمْ لَا تَشْعُرُونَ﴾

*"Say, 'O those of My slaves who have wronged themselves, do not despair of Allāh's mercy. Surely Allāh forgives all sins. Verily, He is the Forgiving, the Merciful. And turn to your Lord and submit to Him before the chastisement comes to you, when you will not be helped. And follow the best of what has been sent down to you before the chastisement comes to you in a state that you are unaware.'"*²⁷

When Hishām received it, initially he couldn't follow how they were related to him. He supplicated to Allāh that He open the meaning for him. Allāh (ﷻ) put it in his heart that they had been revealed concerning men of his kind. So he joined up with the Prophet ﷺ at Madinah.²⁸ According to Ibn 'Abdul-Barr, he migrated only after the battle of the Ditch.

It is well established that the Prophet ﷺ used to supplicate when he bowed down in his prayers in words, "O Allāh, rescue Walid bin Walid, Salamah bin Hishām and 'Ayyāsh bin Rabi'ah."²⁹

²⁷ Surat Az-Zumar: 53-55. See Ibn Hishām (2/129-131) it being a report of Ibn Ishāq through a Hasan chain.

²⁸ This authentic report contradicts the weak report that Ibn Hishām reported in the Sirat (2/131-132) but Mu'allaq (Suspended). It speaks that Walid bin Walid arrived at Makkah in disguise following the Prophet's desire. He was able to learn the place where 'Ayyāsh and Hishām bin 'Āsi were detained. He set them free, and carried them on his camel back to Madinah.

²⁹ Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath (17/87-88/H. 4560). 'Ayyāsh has pointed to something that has been mentioned in a trustworthy report of Ibn Ishāq which says that Abu Jahl and Hārith bin Hishām being cousins of 'Ayyāsh through the mother's side, went to to Madinah. They told him, "Your mother has

According to other reports he added the words, "... O Allāh, rescue the weak believers..."³⁰

As regards Abu Bakr ؓ, once he too made up his mind to leave, but the Prophet ﷺ prevented him saying that he could accompany him when he himself was allowed to migrate. So he began preparing himself for that day, buying two mounts and feeding them for about four months.³¹

Hakim³² has a report according to which the Prophet ﷺ asked Jibril, "Who'll accompany me in my journey?" He replied, "Abu Bakr Siddiq."

Small Muslim caravans began to roll out to the Hijrah destination. Madinah became Dārul-Islam, and, with the last Muslim soul leaving Makkah, that city became Dārul-Kufr and Dārul-Harb. None of the Muslims remained there except someone overpowered by the disbelievers, or someone who had some very good reason for not moving out.

The last to leave was 'Abdullah bin Jahsh. He had lost his eyesight. When he decided to leave, his wife began to create problems. Finally she suggested that he migrate to a place other than Madinah. Ultimately he sold his house to Abu Sufyān and moved out secretly heading for Madinah. After he had left, Abu Jahl, 'Utbah, Shaybah, the two sons of Rabi'ah, 'Abbās bin 'Abdul-Muttalib and Huwaytib bin 'Abdul-'Uzza happened to pass by the house. It bore signs of ruin. 'Utbah's eyes were filled with tears. He recited a poetical piece of his own that said,

*Every house, however long its life,
Will one day meet with its destruction.*

vowed that the comb will not touch her head nor shall she leave the sun until she sees you." So he decided to return to Makkah despite 'Umar warning him that it was a trap. That is how it happened to be. Abu Jahl acted treacherously on the way. They took him to Makkah bound and put him to trial. See Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath (17/87-88).

³⁰ Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath (12/65/H. 2932).

³¹ See: Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath (15/88/H. 3905).

³² Reported by Hakim through 'Ali ؓ: Al-Mustadrak (3/5) and said that this Hadith has a trustworthy text as well as chain, although the two did not trace it. Dhahabi said, "Sahih-Gharib (Sound & Unfamiliar)."

Abu Jahl turned to 'Abbās and said, "This is what you people have brought on us."³³ (He meant Banu Hāshim).

Ibn Ishāq³⁴ has reported this incident, it being similar to the one in Haythami. But, according to him, the blind person involved was 'Abd bin Jahsh. His nickname was Abu Ahmad being a brother of 'Abdullah bin Jahsh. His wife was Far'ah, Abu Sufyān's daughter. It is said that it is his brother who took him along with him when he migrated. In all likeliness, Ibn Ishāq's report is more reliable. Ibn Hajar³⁵ has also mentioned it, but no one else.

This incident leads us to believe that many houses in Makkah were left in ruins.

The Prophet's Hijrah to Madinah

(i) Quraysh Consultations

When the news leaked concerning the agreement between the Prophet ﷺ and the *Ansār* at 'Aqabah, and when the Quraysh could see that the Muslims had begun migrating to Madinah, as singles and groups, they became apprehensive that they will gather strength at Madinah. And, if the Prophet ﷺ also migrated to it and gave them the lead in his struggle against them, then things could get difficult for them. Therefore, they decided that they should once and for all get rid of this source of trouble for them.

It was a Thursday, 26th of Safar, in the fourteenth year after the Commissioning³⁶ (being equivalent of 12th of September of the year 622 AC) that is, some two and a half months after the second pledge at 'Aqabah.³⁷ The Quraysh assembled in the Nadwah House to discuss the best way of doing away with the Prophet ﷺ.

³³ Haythami mentioned it in *Al-Majma'* (6/63-64) and ascribed it to Tabarāni and added: "It includes 'Abdullah bin Shabib who was weak."

³⁴ *Ibn Hishām* (2/124-125) a *Mu'allaq* (Suspended) report, and so weak.

³⁵ *Al-Isābah* (4/3) in the biography of Abu Ahmad bin Jahsh.

³⁶ Mentioned by Mubārakpuri, p. 176, and said in the footnote: "We used this date after looking into the investigations carried out by Mansurpuri in his book *Rahmatul-lil-'Ālamin* (1/95, 97, 102; 2/471).

³⁷ For, the Great Pledge of 'Aqabah was in June 622 as mentioned by Mubārakpuri, p. 164. As regards two month and a half, this could be

The Qur'ān discussed the agenda of the meeting and the several options put forth. Allāh (ﷻ) said:

﴿وَإِذْ يَمْكُرُ بِكَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لِيُثْبِتُوكَ أَوْ يَقْتُلُوكَ أَوْ يُخْرِجُوكَ وَيَمْكُرُونَ وَيَكُرُّ
اللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ خَيْرُ الْمَكْرِينَ﴾

"When those who had disbelieved were planning against you so that they might imprison you, murder you or exile you. They were scheming and Allāh was scheming. And surely Allāh is the best of those who scheme."³⁸

Traditions and historical records give us details of the above abstract Qur'ānic words. And, in addition to what Ibn 'Abbās has said as the cause of revelation of the above Qur'ānic Verse, there is another report coming from him preserved with Ibn Ishāq,³⁹ that gives us a few more details of the proceedings of the consultative council at Nadwah.

derived from Ibn Lahiy'ah who quoted Abul-Aswad, and he 'Urwah. See: *Urwah's Maghāzi*, p. 128.

³⁸ *Surat Al-Anfāl*: 30.

Imam Ahmad reported using his own chain that this Verse was revealed in this connection and mentioned the story (*Al-Musnad*: 5/87). Shākir however said that the chain is dubious because of the presence of 'Uthmān Jazari. This *Hadith* was also mentioned by Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (4/49) regarding this situation. It can also be found in *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (7/27) with an attribution to Tabarāni. He added, "It has 'Uthmān bin 'Amr Jazari who was trusted by Ibn Hibbān but others thought him weak. Other narrators are men accepted in *Sahih* reports." He also attributed it to *Ad-Durrul-Manthur* (3/179), as well as to 'Abdur-Razzāq, 'Abd bin Humayd, Ibn Mundhir, Abu Shaykh, Ibn Marduwayh, Abu Nu'aym in his *Dalā'il* and Khatib. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/199), "This carries a *Hasan* (Good) chain and it is the best that has been reported in connection with the spider's net over the cave's mouth..." Ibn Hajar too regarded in *Al-Fath* (15/90) the *Hadith* as *Hasan*. 'Urwah also mentioned that this Verse was revealed in this connection. See 'Urwah's *Maghāzi*. Bayhaqi also quoted it in his *Dalā'il* (2/465-466) as a *Hadith* of Ibn Lahiy'ah and Muhammad bin Fulayh, through Abul-Aswad, ending with 'Urwah, that the Verse was revealed in this connection.

³⁹ *Ibn Hishām* (2/136-139), who emphasized its hearing, yet with a *Munqati'* (Interrupted) chain, since he did not mention whom did he hear from; whereas Tabari reported it with a *Muttasil* (Connected) chain in his *Tārīkh* (2/370-372) thereby it acquires the status of *Hasan*. As regards to what

That report says that when they gathered together to discuss the issue concerning action against the Prophet ﷺ, Iblis (Satan) appeared in an old man's form. He claimed that he was a visitor from Najd,⁴⁰ had heard of their meeting to sort out the issue and wished to participate. They said he could.

When the proceedings started and one of the participants suggested that they should imprison the Prophet ﷺ the Najdi Shaykh interrupted, saying, "By God. That's not my opinion. If you locked him up behind a door, it is feared that his Companions will jump on you one fine day and free him from your hands. Thereafter, they will increase in number and overcome you in the affair..."

Another man suggested that he be expelled. The Najdi again broke in to say that with the sweet tongue that he possessed and the logic he employed, the Prophet ﷺ would enchant the hearts, attracting the masses to himself. Ultimately, he would overcome the Quraysh. Finally, they agreed unanimously that every tribe should nominate a young man, of noble lineage, well placed among them. Every one of them should be given a sharp sword. They should strike down their swords on the Prophet ﷺ in one stroke so as to

took place in Dārun-Nadwah, and the presence of Iblis in the form of a Najdi Shaykh, Zuhri reported it in his *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 100, as well as Sa'eed bin Yahya Umawi, he from his father as Dhahabi in his *Sirat*, p. 317; and Ibn Sa'd (1/227) on the authority of Wāqidi.

'Urjun said in his book *Muhammad Rasulullah* (2/498): "The story of Iblis appearing in the form of a Shaykh from Najd is a kind of imagination and madness, for no trustworthy report coming from the Prophet has confirmed it. The best that has come is from a *Mursal* report of Ibn 'Abbās which does not have a reliable chain that could be relied upon and trusted." I would like to add that the story came through a genuine chain from Ibn Ishāq and Tabari. In addition Ibn Ishāq, Zuhri, Wāqidi, Ibn Sa'd and Umawi are all expert biographers and war chroniclers. And they all agreed to mention this story which proves that it has a basis. If we removed the Najdi's mention, then the story has been reported in trustworthy reports such as those that have been mentioned in connection with the revelation of Verse, "When those who had disbelieved were planning against you..."

⁴⁰ Suhayli mentioned in his book *Ar-Rawd* (2/229), that he claimed to be so-and-so because they said that no one from Tihāmah should share in the consultation, for they have a soft corner for the Prophet ﷺ.

divide the responsibility on every tribe. Banu 'Abd Manāf wouldn't be able to fight all of them and will scale down their demand to blood money.

The Najdi supported this opinion and the rest also agreed. They dispersed over this as the plan of action.⁴¹

(ii) Permission to Migrate—Planning and the Execution

Once the Quraysh had reached the agreement by common consent that the Prophet ﷺ was to be done away with, Jibril informed the Prophet ﷺ about it. He told him not to sleep in his bed that night rather, leave the town.

Bukhārī⁴² and Tabarī⁴³ have reproduced the report from Ibn

⁴¹ Reports do not specify the time of the meeting, whether it was at night or by the day. We also did not come across the time that elapsed between taking of the decision and then carrying it out. We could not also establish the time it took between the Prophet's visit to Abu Bakr's house and the meeting of Quraysh and the decision to kill him. We are inclined to believe from the circumstances that there must have been the lapse of a certain period between the two incidents. This was the period during which the selection of the young men that were to take the action was made; and that there was a time gap between the visit of the Prophet ﷺ to Abu Bakr and the time they left for the *Hijrah* journey. For, the plan that the Prophet ﷺ laid down along with Abu Bakr for successful emigration, and especially the agreement to meet with the guide, required a short time.

⁴² *Al-Fath* (15/88/H. 3905). The story by Ibn Ishāq is without a chain—Ibn Hishām (2/140); Imam Ahmad reported in his *Musnad* (5/25/Shākir) and also Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/4) through a chain that he declared trustworthy. Dhahabi agreed with him that Abu Bakr came to the house of the Prophet ﷺ and found 'Ali sleeping in his bed. He thought him to be the Prophet ﷺ. 'Ali told him that the Prophet ﷺ had left for the Maymun Well. Abu Bakr met him and they both repaired to the cave. It is possible to reconcile this report with that of Bukhārī by saying that the Prophet ﷺ visiting Abu Bakr was at noon time on the day the pagans surrounded his house by night, so Abu Bakr went in and didn't find him. He caught up with him at the Maymun Well after 'Ali had told him where he was gone, from where they both went to the cave. This was the explanation of 'Awdah, p. 403.

⁴³ *Tārīkh* of Tabari (2/377-379) through a *Hasan* chain.

Ishāq that when the Prophet ﷺ was ordered to migrate, he appeared at Abu Bakr's house with his face covered, at a time he was not used to visiting, right at the peak of noon, when the heat is at its highest, trapping people within the confines of their homes. When Abu Bakr ؓ was told about the Prophet ﷺ approaching the house, he immediately realized that his coming at that hour, in that state, held a message of consequence.

After he was led in, the Prophet ﷺ asked that everyone in the hearing range be removed. Abu Bakr ؓ told him that there was no one around but his own family. The Prophet ﷺ informed him that Allāh (ﷻ) had allowed him to migrate and that Abu Bakr was to accompany him confirming what he had already said earlier in indirect terms. Abu Bakr offered him one of the two camels that he had prepared for this expedition. The Prophet ﷺ accepted the offer, but insisted on paying the price.

When Abu Bakr ؓ said that there was none around except his family, he meant 'Āishah and Asma'. They both were Muslims. In addition, 'Āishah ؓ was already married to him. Therefore, there was no fear from the two. Musa bin 'Uqbah has emphasized on this meaning when he reported that the Prophet ﷺ said on that occasion, "Send away whoever is with you." Abu Bakr replied, "There are no eve-droppers around, only my two daughters." According to another report from Ibn Shihāb, 'Āishah ؓ said, "Abu Bakr didn't have anyone around except myself and Asma'." ⁴⁴

The two then sat down to chart out a plan to defy the pagans' plan. If we follow the reports of Bukhārī and Ibn Ishāq, ⁴⁵ the plan ran as follows:

1. They were to leave their houses by night and repair to the Thawr Cave which lay in the south-western direction. ⁴⁶ This was to mislead the disbelievers since their searching eyes would have

⁴⁴ Ibn Hajar mentioned it in *Al-Fath* (15/88-89).

⁴⁵ *Ibn Hishām* (2/142) via a chain in which he kept back the name of the one who narrated him. Others in the chain are reliable. Tabari stated the complete chain in his *Tārīkh*, as a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain (2/378).

⁴⁶ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/90/H. 3905).

scanned the area north of Makkah in which direction lay Madinah.

2. They were to stay in the cave for three days ⁴⁷ until the heat of the chase was off.
3. They were to hire the services of an expert guide who knew the way to Madinah through untrodden desert tracks. The man chosen was 'Abdullah bin 'Urqud (or Arqad) Dayli. ⁴⁸ He was an idolater. He was kept in the dark over the affair, merely asked to come and pick them up from near the Thawr Cave after three days. The two camels that Abu Bakr ؓ had prepared for the expected journey were handed over to him. ⁴⁹
4. Asma' ؓ prepared the provisions for them bundling them up in a small sack. She tore her girdle into two to tie up its neck. Thus her nick-name thereafter "the girdled one." ⁵⁰ Some reports suggest she was called "the twin-girdled one", or "the twin-belted one" (*Dhātun-Nitāqayn*). ⁵¹
5. Abu Bakr's son 'Abdullah was required to gather the news for them during the day and report to them by the night at Thawr. He returned to the town by morning to mingle with the Quraysh. ⁵²

⁴⁷ Ibid; and Tabari in his *Tārīkh* (3/378) following a *Hasan* narration of Ibn Ishāq.

⁴⁸ That is how it is in the original manuscript of *Sirat Ibn Hishām*, but in the printed copy it is Urayqit. Maybe the alteration occurred during print. This is Dr. Sulayman 'Awdah's opinion, p. 407, f.n. With the biographers it is 'Urayqit alone. I may point out that in the printed copy of Tabari it is written as Urqud. See it at (2/380) as a *Hasan* report of Ibn Ishāq. The verifier of *As-Siratush-Shāmiyah* (3/346/footnotes) said that in the manuscript also it is written as Urqud.

⁴⁹ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (51/92-93/H. 3905).

⁵⁰ This *Hadith* was reported by *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* 15/90/H. 3905) on the authority of 'Āishah ؓ narrating the *Hijrah* story.

⁵¹ Ibid, (16/103/H. 3907), on the authority of Asma' ؓ. Ibn Sa'd (1/299) mentioned that Asma' split her waist-band into two. With one piece she tied the skin bag and with the other the pitcher and so was called the one of two waist bands. This was Wāqidi's report. Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām also mentioned the reason for this naming—*Ibn Hishām* (2/144), both without a chain of transmission.

⁵² *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/92/H. 3905), and Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/143).

6. Abu Bakr's freed slave 'Āmir bin Fuhairah was to graze his sheep around the cave during the day, supply them with milk by night, and, incidentally remove the traces and footmarks in the sand left by Abu Bakr's son 'Abdullah. He was also to slaughter a sheep to feed them.
7. By night Asma' ؓ was to bring them food everyday.⁵³
8. Before starting, the Prophet ﷺ went up to 'Ali ؓ and told him to remain in Makkah behind him. He also handed over the people's trusts. There wasn't a man in Makkah who feared his savings but handed it over to the Prophet ﷺ for safe-keeping. They had good experience of his honesty and trustworthiness.⁵⁴
9. He also ordered 'Ali ؓ to sleep in his bed using his usual green Hadrami blanket. This was also to mislead the pagans.⁵⁵ He assured 'Ali however, that no harm will touch him.
10. 'Amir bin Fuhayrah was also ordered to accompany the two to serve them during the journey.⁵⁶

The Prophet ﷺ was directed to undertake the *Hijrah* after he had stayed 13 years in Makkah from the time the first revelation had come to him.⁵⁷ A Verse that came down those days was:

⁵³ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/91-92/H. 3905), Ibn Ishāq without a chain—Ibn Hishām (2/143).

⁵⁴ Ibn Ishāq without a chain—Ibn Hishām (2/142) but Tabari reported it with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain in his *Tārīkh* (2/378), and if consider the words "what reached me" then, especially from him whom the Prophet ﷺ taught, then we might treat the report as *Hasan*.

⁵⁵ Ahmad reported through a *Hasan* chain that 'Ali ؓ slept in the bed of the Prophet ﷺ that night, but no more: *Al-Musnad* (5/87/Shākir). Hākim mentioned in *Al-Mustadrak* (4/3) that he ('Ali) spent the night in his bed and mentioned the dialogue between the polytheists and 'Ali ؓ when they found him, as he slept in a style other than that of the Prophet ﷺ. What we have noted here is the narration of Ibn Ishāq, with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain but it is a *Hasan* report because of circumstantial evidences.

⁵⁶ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/93/H. 3905).

⁵⁷ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/83/H. 3902), Ibn Hajar said in explaining this *Hadith*: This is the best that Imam Ahmad reported through Yahya bin Sa'eed, he through Hishām bin Hassān through this chain. He said:

﴿وَقُلْ رَبِّ ادْخُلْنِيْ مَدْخَلَ صِدْقٍ وَّاَخْرِجْنِيْ مَخْرَجَ صِدْقٍ وَّاجْعَلْ لِّيْ مِنْ لَّدُنْكَ سُلْطٰنًا نَّصِيْرًا﴾

"And say, 'My Lord! Admit me a good admittance and allow me a good exit and grant me from Yourself a supporting power.'"^{58,59}

By these brief, but highly eloquent words of supplication, Allāh (ﷻ) meant to reassure him.

On the other hand, the Quraysh chose ten leaders to represent the entire Quraysh tribe that was opposed to Islam. The next day they were to execute the plan that had been agreed to by the night in the Nadwah House.

However, despite knowing the Quraysh intentions, the Prophet ﷺ didn't forget to act according to the demands of his faith, something heroic; in fact, what some would consider a reckless act. It is said that by night he went to the Ka'bah in 'Ali's company. There he raised Ali over his shoulders to help him climb over the roof of the Ka'bah in order to throw down the Quraysh deity that was made of brass and anchored to the roof with a steel peg. While 'Ali ؓ was doing that, the Prophet ﷺ was saying, "Truth has come and falsehood has left. Surely, falsehood had to go." 'Ali was able to

"Revelation came to the Prophet ﷺ at the age of forty-three, he spent ten years at Makkah." But more correct is what Muslim has reported on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ that the Prophet ﷺ stayed in Makkah for fifteen years. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/288) that the Prophet's stay in Makkah was thirteen years after revelations began, "this is the more accurate of the opinions." This is his remark after he brought in for discussion various opinions. See the original for all the details.

⁵⁸ *Surat Al-Isra'*: 80.

⁵⁹ Reported by Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/291). Shākir said its chain is *Sahih* (Sound); Tirmidhi: *Sunan* (8/291/The Book of *Tafsir*/H. 3148) where he judged the report as *Hasan-Sahih* (Good & Sound). Ibn Kathir quoted it in his *Tafsir* (5/223) picking it from *Al-Musnad* while confirming Tirmidhi's judgment. And Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (3/3), where he said: "This is a *Hadith* with *Sahih* (Sound) chain, although the two did not record it." Dhahabi agreed with him. Bayhaqi also quoted it in his *Sunan* (vol. 9) following the same chain.

disengage the deity, throw it down and break it. Thereafter the two went back without anyone noticing them. It is said that the deity was never replaced after that.⁶⁰

Although Dhahabi has cleared the above report on transmission grounds, he doesn't think it is a sound one. Abu Ishāq Juwayni has declared some versions of the report as weak. But, since others have treated the narration as trustworthy, we consider the act as one of the Prophet's miracles.

However, when the night had darkened its hue, Quraysh nominees gathered together in front of the Prophet's house to execute their plans. They waited for him to emerge in order to attack. Abu Jahl was also there to encourage them and supervise the task. Of the things he was then saying, while he made fun of the Prophet ﷺ to plant doubts about his Messengership was, "Muhammad claims that if you followed him you'll inherit the rule of the lands of the Arabs and the non-Arabs. Then you will be raised up after death and inherit gardens like the gardens of Jordan. But, if you didn't follow him you will be slaughtered and then raised up to be shoved into the Fire!"⁶¹

While they were in that state, the Prophet ﷺ emerged. He heard what Abu Jahl was saying. He took a handful of dust and said, "Yes, I say that. And you will be one of them." Then he scattered the dust on their heads but they couldn't see him. Allāh (ﷻ) had blinded them. He was reciting the opening nine Verses of

⁶⁰ Reported by Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* following different routes (2/366-367 and 2/5) and said it is correct. Dhahabi said its chain is clean but not the text. This *Hadith* was also recorded by Ahmad in his *Musnad* and by 'Abdullah in his *Zawā'id* on *Musnad* as reported in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/224). Sā'āti took it from *Al-Majma'* that it was recorded by Ahmad, his son, Abu Ya'la, and Bazzar. The narrators of all these reports were trustworthy. However, Abu Ishāq Juwayni Athari considered it a weak chain for it contains Abu Maryam Thaqafi who, to him, is unknown. See Nasa'i: *Khasā'is Amirul-Mu'minin 'Ali bin Abu Tālib*, with the verification of Abu Ishāq Athari, p. 113. He has a good discussion there which one might look into for benefit.

⁶¹ See Ibn Ishāq with a Fair & Disconnected (*Hasan-Mursal*) chain that stop short at Muhammad bin Ka'b Qurazi—*Ibn Hishām* (2/139).

Surat Ya-Sin which said,

﴿يَس ۝١ وَالْقُرْآنِ الْحَكِيمِ﴾ إِلَى قَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى ﴿فَأَغْشَيْنَاهُمْ فَهُمْ لَا يُبْصِرُونَ﴾

"Ya-Sin. By the Wise Qur'ān... (until) ...and We have covered them so they do not see."

The Prophet left ﷺ them in that state and went his way.⁶²

When Abu Bakr ﷺ left, he was carrying with him all that he possessed. It amounted to five to six thousand dirhams.⁶³

While leaving for the cave, the Prophet ﷺ turned toward Makkah, with all the memories of the past flashing before his eyes. They were symbolic of his love for the city where he had spent his life. How could he not love a city that Allāh (ﷻ) chose to place His House in? It was here that he was declared a Messenger for the worlds. He halted for a while and remarked, "By Allāh, you are the best of places in the world and the most beloved by Allāh. Hadn't I been expelled, I wouldn't have left (you)."⁶⁴

⁶² Being a report of Ibn Ishāq without a chain—Ibn Hishām (2/143). This report says that he left for Abu Bakr's house and slipped away from the house of Abu Bakr through a back door and headed towards the Thawr cave via the lower part of Makkah. This contradicts the description that has preceded. 'Awdah has resolved the various reports in this connection, as we mentioned earlier.

⁶³ Imam Ahmad mentioned through a Sound (*Sahih*) chain the story of Abu Bakr ﷺ taking his wealth from his home and his father's conversation with his daughter Asma'. His chain is the same as that of Ibn Ishāq. See *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/282-283), and Ibn Ishāq through a Fair (*Hasan*) chain—Ibn Hishām (2/152); and Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/5-6) where he said, "This is an authentic report on the conditions laid by Muslim although both did not record it."

⁶⁴ Reported by Tirmidhi as in *Tuhfatul-Ahwadhi* (10/426). He declared it as Good, Sound & Unfamiliar (*Hasan-Gharib-Sahih*). Albāni also declared it trustworthy in *Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi*, (3/250/H. 3083). Ibn Mājah also recorded it. See *Sahih Sunan Ibn Mājah* by Albāni (2/196). One of the narrators 'Abdullah bin 'Adi is reported to have said: "I saw the Prophet ﷺ on his camel standing by the Hazwarah (a place near Makkah or maybe the markets of Makkah). See Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wal-Nihāyah* (3/225-226) who says there: "There is a problem here because the Prophet ﷺ did not go to the cave riding, nor did any one see him as he went

According to another report, "How nice a town and how beloved to me! Hadn't my people expelled me out of you, I wouldn't go and live in another place."

As for the attackers, when a passerby saw them on wait at the entrance of his house, he asked them what they were doing there. When they told him that they were waiting for the Prophet ﷺ to emerge, he informed them that he had already left. They wouldn't believe him. For they could see 'Ali sleeping in the cover of his blanket and thought that it was Muhammad. They didn't know the truth until 'Ali ﷺ rose up from the bed in the morning.⁶⁵ When they discovered the Prophet's escape, they immediately drew plans to trace and capture him. They took the following steps:

1. They beat up 'Ali ﷺ, dragged him to the Ka'bah and detained him there for some time to try and extract information concerning the Prophet ﷺ. But they got nothing out of him.⁶⁶

secretly, so, how could Ibn 'Adi have heard him? Perhaps these words belong to some other context. Bayhaqi also reported it in his *Dalā'il* (2/518) being a report of 'Abdur-Razzāq through Ma'mar, through Zuhri, through Abu Salamah, through Abu Hurayrah. It stops at Hazwarah. Bayhaqi said, "This is Ma'mar's illusion, and he too was deluded who narrated through the route of Muhammad bin 'Amr, Abu Salamah and Abu Hurayrah. Hākim said in *Al-Mustadrak* after reporting it (3/7), "Authentic by the conditions laid by the *Shaykhayn* (Bukhārī and Muslim), although they did not report it." And Dhahabi agreed with him.

⁶⁵ Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—Ibn Hishām (2/139). The gist of all that was said is that the story of the conspiracy of the polytheists against the Prophet ﷺ and 'Ali ﷺ sleeping in his bed, gathers strength from the following evidences:

(a) - The story has its basis in the Qur'ān in words, "When those who had disbelieved were planning against you..." The scholars of *Tafsir* say the *Hijrah* context was the cause of the revelation of this Verse.

(b) - It was narrated through different chains, each narration strengthening the other.

(c) - Its popularity among the biographers and war chroniclers. See Dr. Sa'ud's thesis: *Ahādithul-Hijrah*, p. 134 (of the manuscript).

⁶⁶ Mubārakpuri stated this in *Ar-Rahiq Al-Makhtum* ascribing it to Mansur-puri's *Rahmatul-lil-Ālamin*. However, I could not discover the origin of the report from the book of latter mention.

2. A few of them - including Abu Jahl - rushed to Abu Bakr's house hoping to find him there and to treat him the way they had treated 'Ali. Asma' ﷺ came out to tell them on inquiry that she had no idea where her father was. Abu Jahl was so angry with the answer that he hit her so hard that her earring fell off the ear.⁶⁷

3. They placed watchdogs at every point of exit from Makkah.

4. They declared prize money equal to a man's blood money (a hundred camels) for each of them - The Prophet ﷺ and Abu Bakr ﷺ - dead or alive.⁶⁸

5. They hired footmark experts to trace their movements.⁶⁹

To the Cave of Thawr

Bayhaqi⁷⁰ and others⁷¹ have reported that when the Prophet ﷺ

⁶⁷ Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—Ibn Hishām (2/245).

⁶⁸ Al-Bukhārī/*Al-Fath* (15/93/H. 3906). Ibn Ishāq reported through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (2/152) and Tabari: *Tārikh* (2/379) to the effect that the Quraysh offered a hundred camels to anyone who would bring the Prophet ﷺ back to Makkah. Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/93-94) reported that the one who stated that blood money was a hundred camel was Musa bin 'Uqbah and Sālih bin Kaysān in their narrations coming from Zuhri and Tabarāni via a report of Asma'; daughter of Abu Bakr. 'Urwah said in his *Maghāzi*, being a narration of Ibn Lahiy'ah through Abul-Aswad, through 'Urwah, "And they sent across (men) to (various) waters ordering them and announcing for them a great reward."

⁶⁹ Explaining this *Hādith*, (numbered 3905) Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (15/91), "Wāqidi mentioned that Quraysh sent two trackers after them. One of them was Kurz bin 'Alqamah who spotted the spiderweb at the entrance of the cave and said, 'here ends the track.' He did not name the other." It was Abu Nu'aym who identified him in his *Dalā'il* (although I didn't find it in the printed work), as Surāqah bin Ju'sham. Ibn Hajar also wrote in *Al-Isābah* (3/293): "Abu Sa'eed mentioned in *Sharful-Mustafa* that the polytheists hired Kurz bin 'Alqamah when the Prophet ﷺ emigrated from Makkah. 'Alqamah followed the tracks until he reached the cave of Mount Thawr and said, "Here end the tracks and I don't know whether he turned left or right or climbed up the mountain." Surāqah's name is clearly mentioned by Abu Nu'aym.

⁷⁰ *Ad-Dalā'il*: (2/476).

⁷¹ Hākim reported it in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/6) and said that its chain is authentic

and Abu Bakr headed for the cave, Abu Bakr would walk in front of him for a while and then at the rear for a while. When the Prophet ﷺ inquired the reason he replied, "When I think of the searching parties, I walk behind you. And when I think of the trappers, I walk in front of you." The Prophet ﷺ asked him, "Abu Bakr. Is there anything that you hope for yourself but not for me?" He replied, "Yes. There isn't a thing of minor inconvenience to you that I wish is transferred to me instead of you."

As regards the report that comes from 'Umar ؓ to the effect that the two left at night, that Abu Bakr sometimes walked in front of him and sometimes behind him, that when the Prophet ﷺ slowed he carried him on his shoulder, that he plugged the holes in the cave with his toes, that snakes bit him and his tears of pain fell on the Prophet ﷺ, well, this report is untrustworthy. Dhahabi⁷² said about it, "It is Denounced (*Munkar*) both of text as well as the reporters. Bayhaqi⁷³ has, however, said nothing about it. Moreover, after narrating a version coming through Yahya bin Abu Tālib who said that 'Abdur-Rahman bin Ibrāhīm Rāsibi said ... (so-and-so) ... he remarked that the trouble with this report is the presence of Rāsibi. He was untrustworthy, apart from the fact that we don't know him well enough. Khatib also mentions this report but would not give it clearance."

After citing this report from Bayhaqi, Ibn Kathir remarked,⁷⁴ "The text carries some marks of incredulity." Dr. Sa'ud added after Ibn Kathir's remark,⁷⁵ "Yes. Because the chain consists of a narrator

on the conditions set by the two scholars, if not for the fact that it is Disconnected (*Mursal*). Ibn Hajar also mentioned it in *Al-Fath* (15/91) and stated that Baghawi also mentioned it in similar words, being a Disconnected report of Ibn Abu Mulaykah. Ibn Hishām mentioned it briefly (2/143), as well as Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/197) ascribing it to Baghawi adding, "It is a *Mursal* report. We have, however, presented supporting evidences for it in our work on the life of Abu Bakr."

⁷² *Sirat* p. 321.

⁷³ *Ad-Dalā'il*: (2/477).

⁷⁴ *Al-Bidāyah wal-Nihāyah* (3/198).

⁷⁵ *Risālatul-Hijrah*, p. 169.

called Furāt bin Sā'ib who was declared a weak reporter by Abu Hātim and Abu Zur'ah. Abu Hātim had said, "(The man) transmitted Denounced (*Munkar*) reports." Bukhāri said, "He was abandoned. He reported (*Munkar*) *Ahādith*." The above report then is weak and incredulous.

In the Cave

When they reached the cave Abu Bakr ؓ told the Prophet ﷺ, "Hold on for a while, O Messenger of Allāh. Let me tidy up the place a bit."⁷⁶ So he entered first and cleaned up the place. Then he remembered that he hadn't cleaned up one of its corners. So he repeated, "Hold on for a while, O Messenger of Allāh until I have cleaned up the place." With those words he entered again and cleaned up the place thoroughly." Finished with his task, he invited him to enter.⁷⁷

In the meanwhile, the Quraysh began to search for him in every direction sending words to the watering places to keep an eye open for him for rewards. A search party in fact came up to the Thawr cave, and climbed up the hill. They came so near that the two of them could hear them talking. Abu Bakr showed signs of anxiety and fear. He said, "O Messenger of Allāh. If one of them simply looks down below his feet, he'll spot us." The Prophet ﷺ replied, "O Abu Bakr. What do you think of the two whose third is Allāh?"⁷⁸ It was in reference to this that Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

⁷⁶ That is, he wanted to make sure of the safety of the place, and its freedom from harmful pests.

⁷⁷ Reported by Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il Al-Nubuwwah* (2/476) with a Disconnected chain (*Mursal*) because it stops at Ibn Sirin. We have spoken about this earlier; Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/6) where he said: "This *Hadith* has a trustworthy chain if it was not Disconnected (*Mursal*), and the two did not trace it." Dhahabi agreed with him in his *Talkhis* of the work.

⁷⁸ Reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (17/205/H. 4663), *Al-Fath* (15/117/H. 3922). The *Hadith* says: "If one of them should lower his eyes, he could see us." *Muslim* (4/1843/H. 2381), and *Ahmad* (1/159/Shākir). Shākir remarked: "Its chain is *Sahih*." Ibn Lahiy'ah also reported it through Abul-Aswad, he through 'Urwah in his *Maghāzi*, p. 129.

﴿إِلَّا تُصْرُوهُ فَقَدْ نَصَرَهُ اللَّهُ إِذْ أَخْرَجَهُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا ثَانِيَ اثْنَيْنِ إِذْ
مُتَا فِي الْكَارِ إِذْ يَقُولُ لِصَاحِبِهِ لَا تَحْزَنْ إِنَّا اللَّهُ مَعَكَ﴾

"If you do not help him, then (it doesn't matter because) Allāh helped him when those who had disbelieved expelled him, the second of the two, when they were in the cave, when he was telling his companion, 'Be not vexed. Allāh is with us.'"⁷⁹

Allāh (ﷻ) protected the Prophet in the cave from possible discomforts. One of the signs of Allāh's help was that, as Ahmad reported,⁸⁰ when the Quraysh came up near the mountain, they

⁷⁹ Surat At-Tawbah: 40.

See all the quotations and reports cited by Tabari in his *Tafsir* as reasons behind revelation of this Verse (4/257-260), as verified by Shākir. And the story as present in the *Sahihayn* and others, have been brought together for the study of the cause of revelation.

⁸⁰ See *Al-Musnad* (5/87/Shākir). Shākir said, "There is doubt in his chain, because of 'Uthmān Jazari whom Ibn Hibban trusted but others declared him weak. The rest of the transmitters are trustworthy. It has been attributed in *Ad-Durrul-Manthur* (3/179) to 'Abdur-Razzāq, 'Abd bin Humayd, Ibn Mundhir, Abu Shaykh, Ibn Marduwayh, Abu Nu'aym in *Dalā'il*, and Khatib..." Ibn Kathir mentioned this story in his *Tārikh* (3/198-199) and said about it: "This is a *Hasan* chain and it is one of the best reports narrated about the spiderweb at the entrance which was out of Allāh's protection granted to his Messenger." Ibn Hajar also declared it *Hasan* in *Al-Fath* (15/90). Albāni mentioned in his *Silsilah Mawdu'ah*.

I would like to add that 'Abdur-Razzāq's report is in *Al-Musannaf* (5/389) but broken at Miqsam and Qatadah, and sometimes reaching up to 'Āishah (رضي الله عنها). Albāni said in his footnote in *Fiqhus-Sirah* of Ghazālī (p. 173) about Ibn Kathir and Ibn Hajar ruling it *Hasan*: "But this evaluation needs another look. For 'Uthmān Jazari who in fact is Ibn 'Amr bin Sāj, has drawn the following remark from 'Uqayli, "His reports may not be followed." And hence said Hāfiz in *At-Taqrīb*, "There is a weakness in him." And, therefore, what Ibn Kathir and Ibn Hajar reported as a narration of Hasan Basri does not strengthen it. For the latter reported Disconnected (*Mursal*) versions. Further, it has Bashshār Khufāf, who is identified as Ibn Musa, and who was not trustworthy. Bukhārī said about him, "He narrated Denounced (*Munkar*) reports."

It appears from the notes made by the two Arna'uts on *Zād* (3/52) that they agree with Ibn Kathir and Ibn Hajar in declaring the report *Hasan*.

dispersed all over the place. Some of them climbed up the mountain and came close to the cave. When they came up to it, they found that a spider had spun its net across its mouth. This is also reported by Hasan Busri who added that the Prophet (ﷺ) busied himself with prayers while Abu Bakr (رضي الله عنه) remained on watch.⁸¹

Tabarāni⁸² has recorded that one of the pagans came quite close to the cave. He sat down to urinate facing the cave exposing his private parts. Involuntarily, Abu Bakr said, "O Messenger of Allāh. We will be discovered." He replied, "No way. Angels are covering us up with their wings. If he had seen us, he wouldn't be doing what he is doing."

The rest of the days in the cave were spent in peace, except that the Prophet (ﷺ) injured his finger that bled a little. He recited a couplet meaning:

"Aren't you but a finger that bled
And met with what you met in Allāh's cause?"⁸³

A few fables with reference to the stay in the cave have been reported. The following are the more famous of them:

1. One of them is the story reported by Ibn Sa'd⁸⁴ and Bazzār⁸⁵

They believe that the Disconnected (*Mursal*) versions of Hasan Basri are reliable, nor did they point to the weakness in Bashshār Khufāf and the remarks of the scholars about him.

⁸¹ Ibn Kathir mentioned it in his *Tārikh* (3/199) ascribing it to Hāfiz Abu Bakr Ahmad bin 'Ali bin Sa'eed Qādi in *Musnad Abu Bakr*, and said about it: "This is *Mursal Hasan*, which happens to be Good (*Hasan*) by itself because of other supporting reports. It includes mention of the Prophet's prayer in the cave."

⁸² Reported by Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/53-54) where he said: "It includes Ya'qub bin Humayd bin Kāsib whom Ibn Hibbān and others consider as authentic but Abu Hātim and others considered him weak. However, the rest of the transmitters are reliable. Hāfiz mentioned it in *Al-Fath* (15/94) ascribing it to Tabarāni without offering us a comment.

⁸³ See: *Sahih Muslim* (3/1421/H. 1796). See the comment of 'Abdul-Bāqi, and Dhahabi in his *Sirat*, p. 322.

⁸⁴ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/229) through 'Awn bin 'Amr Qaysi and Abu Mus'ab Makki.

⁸⁵ See *Kashful-Astār* (2/299-300) also through Qaysi. But Qaysi as well as Makki are weak. Ibn Ma'in said about Qaysi, "He is worthless." Bukhārī

to the effect that a tree grew up covering the entrance of the cave and a spider built a nest to cover its mouth, and that Allāh (ﷻ) ordered two doves to make their nest at the mouth of the cave. The story also goes that two Qurayshis went as close as forty steps from the cave. One of them saw the two doves and returned. When his companions asked him why he hadn't entered the cave he answered that he saw two doves at the mouth and concluded that there couldn't be anyone inside. The Prophet (ﷺ) heard the conversation and knew that Allāh (ﷻ) had saved him by the two doves.⁸⁶ So he prayed for the two and rewarded them. They flew to the Holy House, brought out chicks there and the present-day doves of the Holy House are their progeny.

2. Some biographers have written that when they came close to

said, "Man of Denounced (*Munkar*) reports." 'Uqayli placed him among weak narrators. See *Mizānul-I'tidāl* (3/306). 'Uqayli said about Makki, "Unknown (*Majhul*)."⁸⁷ Dhahabi said about him, "He cannot be identified." See *Mizan* (3/303) and *Al-Lisān* (7/105). Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/199): "It was reported that two doves built their nests at the entrance of the cave. Sarsary composed a poem that describes how providence protected the Messenger of Allāh." One of the poetical verses said:

"The spider blinded his eye,
And the dove remained laying eggs at the entrance."

Hāfiz Ibn 'Asākir also recorded this report in the same words, tracing it through Yahya bin Muhammad bin Sa'eed, 'Amr bin 'Ali, 'Awn bin 'Amr, Abu Bakr 'Amr Qaysi whom he nicknamed 'Uwayn. He said, "I was told by Abu Mus'ab Makki," and then narrated the *Hadith*.

Ibn Kathir says about this *Hadith*, "This report is very Unfamiliar (*Gharib*) through this chain." Albāni said about Sa'eed in *Difa'*, p. 18, "Sa'eed is unknown and unknowable, nor cleared by anyone. Indeed Hāfiz Ibn Hajar that he is weak of *Hadith* if he is not supported by other reports." See this report, with these weak chains, in Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (2/481-482) as well as Abu Nu'aym, also in his *Dalā'il* (2/325).

Haythami brought it in his *Al-Majma'* (6/51-53) and remarked, "Bazzār recorded it but it consists of transmitters that I do not know." But the redactor of *Kashful-Astār*, 'Azami criticized him in words (2/299, f.n.), "There is none in it unknown but Abu Mus'ab Makki."

This report tells us that the tracker was Suraqah bin Mālik bin Ju'shum of Mudlij, that is in books other than that of Bayhaqi and Abu Nu'aym, I mean the published ones.

⁸⁶ That is blessed them through supplication.

the mountain, Abu Bakr (رضي الله عنه) said, "If one of them looked down his feet, he'd spot us." The Prophet (ﷺ) replied, "If they came to us through this opening, we shall escape through that opening." Abu Bakr looked at the other side and found that it had opened up to the sea wherein an anchored boat was ready to sail off.⁸⁷

3. It is reported in some books that Abu Bakr told his son: "Son. If any untoward thing strikes the people, seek refuge in the same place where I and the Prophet had concealed ourselves. Seek refuge there, you will be fed morning and evening."⁸⁸

4. It is reported that two of the pagans came up and one of them started to urinate facing the Prophet (ﷺ). Abu Bakr asked, "Doesn't the man see us?" He replied, "If he could, he wouldn't have shown his private parts to us."⁸⁹

5. It is also reported that Abu Bakr (رضي الله عنه) felt thirsty. The Prophet (ﷺ) told him, "Go to the mouth (of the cave) and drink." Abu Bakr went up to the mouth of the cave and drank water sweeter than honey, whiter than milk and more fragrant than musk. When he returned, the Prophet (ﷺ) remarked, "Allāh ordered the angel in charge of the springs of Paradise to run one of its streams at the mouth of the cave for you to drink from."⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/201) that this is not beyond the power of Allāh. But there hasn't been a report through either a weak or strong chain.

I would like to add that the report in question until the words "at their feet" was reported through a trustworthy chain. See Ibn Hanbal's *Al-Fadā'il* (1771/H/179).

⁸⁸ Reported by Bazzār with a chain that includes Musa bin Mutayr as in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/201). Ibn Kathir said: "Musa bin Mutayr is weak and an abandoned transmitter. He was charged with lies by Ibn Ma'in and hence his reports may not be accepted."

Sa'ud added (p. 169): "...Abu Hātim said: Abandoned in *Hadith*, a destroyer of *Hadith*." See: *Tārikh Ibn Ma'in* (2/596) and *Al-Jarhu wat-Ta'dil* (8/162).

⁸⁹ Reported by Haythami in *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (6/54) and he said: "It includes Musa bin Mutayr, and he was abandoned."

⁹⁰ Reported by Suyuti in *Al-Khasā'is* (1/307-308), and said about it, "Ibn 'Asākir traced it through an absurd chain ending with Ibn 'Abbās."

Journey to Madinah

When the intensity of the search had somewhat subsided in three days time, Ibn 'Urqud came up to the agreed spot leading the two camels. 'Āmir bin Fuhayrah was with them and the party took the shoreline route.⁹¹

After taking all those precautionary measures that were humanly possible, the Prophet ﷺ was calm and his tongue busy with Allāh's remembrance. Abu Bakr ؓ on the other hand was on the watch and extremely concerned for the Prophet's safety.⁹²

When the time for the afternoon siesta arrived, they left the main road and took shelter under a large rock that Allāh (ﷻ) had raised for them. Abu Bakr prepared the place for him, spread a piece of leather and invited him to take repose while he himself remained on the guard. And, as he took position, he found a Bedouin driving along his cattle. He too was looking for shelter. Abu Bakr spoke to him to find out who he was. He discovered that the man was in fact a Makkan. He agreed however to milk one of his goats for them. Abu Bakr instructed him to clean the udder before starting to milk the animal. He didn't disturb the Prophet ﷺ for the drink, rather waited until he woke up. When he had drunk to Abu Bakr's satisfaction the Prophet ﷺ ordered the march to continue.⁹³ Abu Bakr was the pillion rider. Whenever they encountered someone with a curious mind and asked about the Prophet, Abu Bakr would say, "This is my guide." The inquirer took the literal meaning of a road-guide while Abu Bakr meant spiritual guide.⁹⁴

⁹¹ See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/93/H. 3905) and (14/142-143/H. 3652). Ibn Ishāq named the places by which the Prophet ﷺ passed—*Ibn Hishām* (2/150-156) without a chain.

⁹² See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/95/H. 3906).

⁹³ See it in the same words in: *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/113-114/H. 3917-3918), and (14/142-144/H. 3652). A similar *Hadith* was reported by Ibn 'Abdul-Barr in *Al-Isti'ab* (3/240), and ascribed it to Tayālisi, whose chain is reliable. This was what Sa'ud said, p. 200. Dhahabi recorded it in his *Sirat*, p. 330-331, as also Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/8) and Ahmad in *Al-Musnad* (1/154-155/Shākir), and said, "Its chain is reliable, and it has some additions."

⁹⁴ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/106-107/H. 3911) and Ibn Sa'd (1/34) with a

Bukhārī⁹⁵ has preserved the report of Surāqah bin Mālik who belonged to Banu Mudlij.⁹⁶ The little caravan passed close by their dwellings. One of their men spotted them. He told Surāqah that he could see dark patches moving near the seashore and strongly felt it was Muhammad ﷺ and his men. Surāqah said, "I knew immediately that it was Muhammad and his men. But (coveting the reward) I told him, 'Rather, they are so-and-so who started off a while back right from here.'" However, after allowing a respectable time, Surāqah got up, hurried to his house and ordered his slave-girl to lead his horse to a spot behind a sand dune. Then he prepared himself and slipped out to the place where the horse was waiting for him. He jumped on it and rode off. When he came close upon Muhammad ﷺ and his companions, his horse stumbled. So Surāqah brought out his arrows and struck them to find out if he should pursue them or not. The arrows told him what he did not like to be told. But he wouldn't obey the arrows. He rode up again and chased them until he got so close that he could hear their voices. But there his horse's legs sank into the sand up to its knees.⁹⁷ That was followed by some smoke that rose up like a big ball. Surāqah realized that the Prophet ﷺ was being protected from him. So he

Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain which includes Abu Ma'shar who is weak. It contradicts what is in the *Sahih*, as he mentioned that the Prophet ﷺ was riding behind Abu Bakr ؓ on his camel. Through another chain (1/235) but trustworthy. Yet, it also contradicts what is in trustworthy reports that describe how the Prophet ﷺ was riding. See Ahmad in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/290) where its chain is *Sahih*. Sā'ati said, "Bukhārī and Ibn Ishāq narrated it in meaning."

⁹⁵ *Al-Fath* (15/93-96/H. 3906) but Ibn Ishāq reported in a complete form through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/152-154). Muslim also reported it (4/309/H. 2009), as well as Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/284-285). Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/6-7) where he declared it trustworthy, and 'Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/392-393).

⁹⁶ Their halt was near Rābigh. Surāqah followed them since they were descending down Qudayd.

⁹⁷ In a report of Bara' in *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/104/H. 3908), as well as a *Hadith* of Anas with him. Same source, p. 107, H. 3911. While in the *Hadith* of Bara' in *Sahih Muslim* (3/192/H. 2009) it is stated that it was because of the Prophet's supplication against him.

pulled out his arrows once again to consult them. Once again they told him to give up his evil design. So, he called out promising peace. They stopped. He mounted his horse once again to reach them. He knew from the way the horse's legs had sunk into the sand that the Prophet's mission will overcome all opposition. He informed the Prophet ﷺ that the Makkans had announced the reward of a hundred camels for him. He also informed him about a few other things they were doing (to capture him). He also offered them food and other provision. But they accepted nothing from him except that the Prophet ﷺ told him not to pass on to others the news about his whereabouts. Surāqah sought that he write to him a note of peace. He ordered 'Āmir bin Fuhayrah to write down peace for him on a piece of leather. Thereafter they continued with their march.

Bukhārī⁹⁸ has a report coming directly from Abu Bakr ؓ. He said, "We journeyed while the people were in our search. But no one was able to detect us except Surāqah bin Mālik bin Ju'shum. As he galloped towards us, I said, "This man has caught up with us, O Messenger of Allāh." He replied, "Be not vexed. Allāh is with us."

When Surāqah returned to his people, he spread the word, "I have checked on the information. Along this side, you don't have to check."⁹⁹ Thus, by morning he was chasing the two and by the evening he had become their protector.¹⁰⁰

Surāqah preserved that writing until he came to the Prophet ﷺ after he had finished his campaign against Tā'if and Hunayn some eight years after the incident. He sought peace and the Prophet ﷺ granted him saying, "Yes. Today is the day for honoring the trust and goodwill." It was on that day that Surāqah embraced Islam.¹⁰¹

Ibn Hajar,¹⁰² Ibn 'Abdul-Barr¹⁰³ and others report that the

⁹⁸ *Al-Fath* (14/144/H. 3652).

⁹⁹ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/120/H. 3615).

¹⁰⁰ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/107-108/H. 3911).

¹⁰¹ Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain. However, its transmitters are all trustworthy — *Ibn Hishām* (2/154).

¹⁰² *Al-Isabāh* (2/19) with a chain of reliable narrators, but it is Interrupted (*Munqati'*) from both sides and so not reliable.

¹⁰³ *Al-Isti'āb* (2/120) with a chain of reliable narrators, but it is Interrupted

Prophet ﷺ asked Surāqah, "How will it be when you don Kisra's bracelets?" Accordingly, when 'Umar ؓ was brought Kisra's bracelets, girdle and crown, he asked for Surāqah and gave the bracelets to him. Surāqah was a stocky man with thick hair on his arms. 'Umar said, "Raise your hands." Then, as he put the bracelets onto his hands he remarked, "Allāh is Great who took them from Kisra who used to say, 'I am the people's Lord,' and gave them to Surāqah to wear," adding in a raised voice, "a mere Bedouin from Banu Mudlij."

Ibn Ishāq¹⁰⁴ has some poetry that Abu Jahl said, in which he incited Surāqah's tribe against Surāqah. Surāqah also replied to him with poetical composition of his own.¹⁰⁵

Next, the Prophet ﷺ passed by the two tents of Umm Ma'bad of Khuza'ah tribe as he moved on. They asked her if she had some food. She complained of drought. The Prophet ﷺ spotted a goat near the tent. He asked her about it. She said, "A goat too weak to follow the herd." He asked if she had any milk. She replied that she was too weak for that. He sought her permission to milk her and she said, "If you think it will yield milk, go ahead." The Prophet ﷺ rubbed her udder and supplicated to Allāh. Her udder became full of milk. He asked for a pail and milked her. Then he offered the milk to the woman. She drank until she was full. Then he offered the milk to others of his companions and they drank to their fill. Finally he himself drank. Then he milked her again until he filled the pail and

(*Munqati'*) from both sides and so not reliable. See *Risālatul-Hijrah*, p. 180.

¹⁰⁴ Being a narration of Yunus bin Bukayr without a chain. Bayhaqi mentioned it in his *Dalā'il* (2/489) and mentioned the poetical lines of Surāqah but not those of Abu Jahl. See the lines of Abu Jahl with the redactor for Bayhaqi did not mention them.

¹⁰⁵ See the lines of Surāqah and those of Abu Jahl in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* by Ibn Kathir (3/204) who said: "This poetry was mentioned by Umawi in his *Maghāzi* through a chain of his, on the authority of Ibn Ishāq. Abu Nu'aym also spoke of it through his own chain through Ziyād, and Ibn Ishāq, and he added a few more Verses to those of Abu Jahl that contain great blasphemy. See *Al-Dalā'il* by Abu Nu'aym (2/336-337) which is similar to what Ibn Kathir said, and it relies on Ibn Ishāq as the source, without a chain.

left it with Umm Ma'bad. After that they left the place.

When Abu Ma'bad, the woman's husband arrived, he was surprised by the milk. When she informed him about the strangers he remarked, "By God, he seems to be the man the Quraysh are looking for." He asked her to describe him. When she did, he remarked, "I am sure this is the Qurayshi man they are talking about. I wish I could accompany him. I would, if I knew how to find him."

It is said that the next day they heard a loud voice in Makkah saying the following poetical piece, although they could not see the person,

Ask your sister about her goat and her vessel
For, if you asked your goat, she'd tell you.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶The story of the Prophet ﷺ and Umm Ma'bad was reported by Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/9-10) in a lengthy form being a the *Hadith* of Hishām bin Hubaysh. He remarked that the *Hadith* had a reliable chain although the two did not record it. He mentioned a few supporting data. Dhahabi agreed with him and judged it trustworthy. However, he disagreed with him over the conditions to be met for a *Sahih* report. He said that it is from Hishām bin Hubaysh bin Khuwaylid, but there is an error in there. It should be Hishām, and he through his grandfather Hubaysh. Also Khuwaylid is an error. It should be Khālid. These facts were pointed out by Dr. 'Abdul-Mahdi in his lecture, published as typed copy under the name *As-Siratun-Nabawiyah minal-Kitāb was-Sunnah*, p. 54.

The two Anrri'uts said in the footnotes of *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/57): "A *Hasan* report that Bayhaqi reported in his *Dalā'il* (2/491-492) as a *Hadith* of Yahya bin Zakariyyah." Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/211): "A report of *Hasan* chain." Dr. Sa'ud followed him in his thesis on *Hijrah*, p. 198, and added, "But it is broken for 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Abu Layla never met Abu Bakr..." He referred to *Jami'ut-Tahsil*, p. 275, and *At-Tahdhib* (6/2600).

The contents of Bayhaqi's version are close to the contents of Hishām bin Hubaysh and he reported it in the manner of Ibn Hubaysh, through his own chain, reaching up Abu Ma'bad as mentioned by Ibn Kathir (3/211-212) who ascribed to Suhayli, p. 111.

Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah wal-Nihāyah* (3/209) regarding the story of Umm Ma'bad: "Her story is popularly known and has been reported through different sources, supporting each other." Then he quoted the

Later, the small caravan passed by another Bedouin who was shepherding goats. They asked him for some food. He begged excuse explaining that there was no milk in his goats except for one that had maybe a pint left in her. The Prophet ﷺ once again passed his hand over her udder and milked her. They all drank to their full. When the shepherd witnessed this miracle, he became a Muslim. He wished to join them. But the Prophet ﷺ told him to stay put until he heard that he had overcome his enemies.¹⁰⁷

As they advanced, they met a caravan of Muslim traders who were returning from Shām. Zubayr was with them. He offered him and Abu Bakr a white shawl each as gift.¹⁰⁸

different narrations (2/209-214). Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/107) mentioned a few of the narrations, and Haythami mentioned it in *Al Majma'* (6/55-58) on the authority of Hubaysh bin Khālid remarking: "Tabarāni recorded it via a chain of narrators that are unfamiliar to me. He mentioned it in the ch. 'Alāmātun-Nubuwwah. Ibn Sa'd also reported it in his *Tabaqāt* (1/230-232) in detail, coming down from Umm Ma'bad. Bazzār reported it briefly through a weak chain in *Kashful-Astār* (2/300-301).

To summarize, the story rises to the level of *Hasan li Ghayrihi* because of the numerous chains and because of its popularity as said Dr. Sa'ud in his thesis, p. 199. Umm Ma'bad's description of the Prophet ﷺ follows.

¹⁰⁷This story was reported by Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (3/8) as a *Hadith* of Qays bin Nu'mān. Suyuti reported it in *Al-Khasā'is* (1/312) treating it as *Sahih* ascribing it to Abu Nu'aym, Abu Layla, Tabarāni, Hākim and Bayhaqi. Ibn Kathir quoted in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/213) this story taking it from Bayhaqi, saying, "Abu Ya'la Mawsili narrated it. Ibn Kathir said (in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah*) commenting on these stories and especially the miracle of the goat, "It is possible that all these stories are one."

¹⁰⁸Reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/97/H. 3906). Ibn Hajar discussed trying to reconcile between what the biographers said and what Bukhāri said in regard to this story. The summary is that the report was traced by Musa bin 'Uqbah through Zuhri and added to it his words, "It is said that when he neared Makkah, Talhah had just arrived from Shām. He began to return to Makkah either to meet him, or to perform an 'Umrah. He had some clothes brought from Shām that he gifted to Abu Bakr. When he met him, he gave them to him and so he and Abu Bakr wore out of them. This however, if correct, could all be from Talhah and Zubayr gave the two the clothes. See rest of the sayings of the biographers in *Al-Fath* by Ibn Hajar (15/97).

When they reached 'Arj, they needed to ask the way. The people there were from the tribe Aslam, and were known as *Mahanān*' (the dishonored ones). The Prophet ﷺ didn't like the name. When he reached them, he offered them Islam and they became Muslims. He named them *Mukarramān* (the honored ones). He asked them to join him up at Madinah.¹⁰⁹

Bazzār¹¹⁰ and Ibn Athir¹¹¹ have preserved the report through Buraydah bin Husayb of the Aslam tribe that as they advanced they met another caravan. He asked Abu Bakr ؓ to find out who they were. They said they were of the Aslam tribe. He told him to ask of which clan of the Aslam tribe. They replied that they were of the Banu Sahm tribe. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Lay aside your arrows, O Abu Bakr."

Then, as they arrived at Juhfah (about 30 km from Madinah) they came across camels being pastured. He asked whose camels they were. He was told that they belonged to a man of the Aslam tribe. (In Arabic, *Aslam* means one who entered into peace). The Prophet ﷺ drew the good omen: "You have entered into peace by Allāh's Will, O Abu Bakr." He asked the shepherd his name. He said Mas'ud. (In Arabic, *Mas'ud* means lucky one). The Prophet ﷺ remarked to Abu Bakr, "You have attained good luck by Allāh's Will."¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ This story was reported by 'Abdullah son of Imam Ahmad, in his *Zawā'id 'Alal-Musnad* (4/74). See also: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/288). Sā'ati made no comments about its chain. Haythami mentioned it in *Al-Majma'* (6/58) saying: "Narrated by 'Abdullah bin Ahmad. As for Ibn Sa'd (one of the narrators), he is identified as 'Abdullah about whom I know nothing. The rest of the transmitters are reliable."

¹¹⁰ *Kashful-Astār* (2/301-302), Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (6/55): "Narrated by Bazzār and the chain includes 'Abdul-'Aziz who was abandoned."

¹¹¹ See *Usdul-Ghābah*, Dar Al-Fikr Publication. Its chain is Interrupted (*Munqati'*).

¹¹² Ibn Kathir reported it up to this point in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/209) as a narration of Abu Nu'aym, without comments.

I say, see *Al-Ma'rifah* by Abu Nu'aym (2/book 182/A). This one has in its chain Muhammad bin 'Abbād bin Musa 'Ukli. There is weakness in it. Further, nobody ever wrote about Musa bin 'Abbād and Iyās bin Mālik. So the report is weak.

It is also said that one of the camels was left behind. When Aws bin 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Abdullah bin Hujr Aslami who owned quite a few camels came up to meet them, he gave them a camel as well as a young man Mas'ud to escort them to their destination. He accompanied them up to Quba'.¹¹³

According to another version, Aws bin 'Abdullah bin Hujr Aslami passed by him and Abu Bakr at a place called Hadawāt—between Juhfah and Harsha. He found them riding a single camel heading towards Yathrib. He gave them his own camel called Ibn Rada' and sent with them his slave Mas'ud. Aws Aslami ordered him to take them by the familiar route and not part company with them until they reached their destination. Accordingly, he only returned after taking them up to Yathrib. He brought back the message to his master that he was to stamp the names of the camels on their necks.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ The content of this story is found in *Al-Isti'āb* (1/82). Ibn Abdul-Barr said its chain is *Hasan*.

¹¹⁴ Ibn Hishām reported in his additions to *Sirat Ibn Ishāq*, without offering a chain. See: *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (2/156). Ibn Hajar too reported it in *Al-Isābah* (1/86) under the biography of Aws bin Mālik and stated that Tabarāni preserved it. He also said, "Abul-'Abbās bin Sirāj also recorded it in his *Tārīkh* ... in Disconnected (*Mursal*) form." Then he said, "Ibn 'Abdul-Barr has said (*Ad-Durar*, p. 91), 'He was reporting his *Hadith* from his son, and it is *Hasan*.'"

I might add that Ibn 'Abdul-Barr's declaration of just about acceptability (*Tahsin*), is influenced by his treatment of *Mursal Hadith* as acceptable. But the majority of *Hadith* scholars reject it. They have certain conditions that must be fulfilled for its acceptance such as, supporting evidences, and, further their division of such reports into kinds and classes of *Mursal* reports... unto the end of the discussions over this. See in this regard books dealing with guiding principles for acceptance or rejection of *Mursal* reports, or one might see some books on Principles of *Hadith* Criticism. The report is also in *Al-Isti'āb*.

Haythami recorded in *Al-Majma'* (6/55) and said: "Reported by Tabarāni but there are some in the chain whom I did not know. And Ibn Hajar (15/107) mentioned that it was reported by Abu Sa'eed in his book *Sharful-Mustafa* through Iyās bin Mālik bin Aws Aslami, and Ibn Sakan, and Tabarāni reported with a full chain running through Iyās, his father, his grandfather Aws bin 'Abdullah bin Hujr, and then reported in detail

The small caravan also came across Buraydah bin Husayb Aslami at Ghamim. He was then the chief of his tribe. He had actually come out in the hope of capturing them for the rewards promised by the Quraysh. When he met with the Prophet ﷺ, he presented him the message of Islam. Moved by it, he embraced it there and then. It is said that influenced by him more than eighty families became Muslim. Other reports say it was seventy families.¹¹⁵ Buraydah spent the night with the Prophet ﷺ. Next

almost the same words." Ibn Hajar also said in *Al-Isābauj* (3/338, biography of Mālik bin Aws): "Musa bin 'Uqbah's *Maghāzi*, on the authority of Zuhri, that the man they passed by was Mālik bin Aws, the name of the beast was Ibn Liqah and the name of the boy Mughith." He also stated that Mālik bin Aws and his father Aws are of the Companions. Ibn 'Abdul-Barr said in *Al-Isti'āb* (3/382): "According to some, he has the honor of companionship of the Prophet ﷺ, but this is questionable."

I would like to add that in the chain stated by Ibn Hajar falls Fayd bin Wathiq about whom Ibn Ma'in said, "A dirty liar." See *Diwanud-Du'afa'* of Dhahabi, p. 250, although some have considered Fayd as not too untrustworthy.

¹¹⁵ The news of the Prophet ﷺ meeting with Buraydah and his embracing of Islam with a group of his own tribesmen (is in the following books):

(a) - Imām Ahmad in his *Musnad* (5/346).

(b) - Ibn Sa'd (4/242), from a narration by Wāqidi, he said that eighty households embraced Islam and prayed 'Isha' with the Prophet ﷺ; that the meeting-place was Ghamim, and that the Prophet ﷺ taught him first few Verses of *Surat Maryam* that night.

(c) - Dhahabi: *Siyar A'lāmin-Nubala'* (2/4690, and *As-Siratun-Nabawiyah*, p. 330, through a chain with Aws bin 'Abdullah bin Buraydah but who was abandoned. Ibn Hibbān, however, treated him reliable adding that the Denounced (*Munkar*) reports are through his brother Suhayl. However, Ibn Hibbān was not so strict in judging narrators. In the *Hadith* it was mentioned that seventy of his people embraced Islam together with him. However, Ibn Athir said in *Usdul-Ghābah* (1/209) two reports through two chains. First is Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) while the second is Interrupted (*Munqati'*). The first says that they were around 80 houses while the second says they were 70 riders.

(d) - Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah* (1/146) without chain quoting a *Hadith* of Ibn Sakan. It was mentioned that he stayed in his place until Badr and Uhud were over. It was also said that he embraced Islam after the Prophet ﷺ had left Badr.

day morning he said, "Messenger of Allāh. Don't enter the town without a flag." Then he tied his headgear to his spear and bearing it in front of him entered the town with him.¹¹⁶

Arrival at Madinah

Bukhāri,¹¹⁷ Ibn Ishāq,¹¹⁸ Hākim¹¹⁹ and others have recorded that when the *Ansār* came to know that the Prophet ﷺ had left Makkah, they began to spend the mornings outside the town waiting for him, returning only at noon when it got very hot. It was the 12th of Rabi'ul-Awwal, a Monday, the 14th year after the commissioning (being 23rd of September 622 the Christian Era),¹²⁰ when they came out as usual. But when the day became hot, they returned. One of the Jews climbed up the wall of his fort to attend to some work. He spotted the Prophet ﷺ and his companions. He cried out in a loud voice, "O Arabs.¹²¹ Here is your awaited man." The Muslims took their arms and rushed out to meet him at the lava

(e) - Ibn 'Abdul-Barr in *Al-Isti'āb* (1/173-174) without a chain and similar to the narration of Ibn Sa'd.

¹¹⁶ This part of the story of Buraydah embracing Islam was mentioned by Diyār Bakry in *Tārikhul-Khamis* (1/235), which he took from Ibn Jawzi from his book *Sharful-Mustafa*, through Bayhaqi reaching up to Buraydah. See Zurqāni: *Sharhul-Mawāhibil-Ladunniyah* (1/421).

¹¹⁷ *Al-Fath* (15/97-99/H. 2906) and (15/119/H. 3925).

¹¹⁸ With a weak chain, see *Ibn Hishām* (2/156-157).

¹¹⁹ *Al-Mustadrak* (3/11). He considered it trustworthy and Dhahabi agreed with him pointing that it is in the *Sahihayn*.

¹²⁰ See *Ar-Rahiq Al-Makhtum*, p. 190-191. He quoted it from *Rahmatul-lil-'Ālamin* (1/102), and said in the footnote: "On this day the Prophet ﷺ completed the age of fifty-three. And his mission completed thirteen years according to those who believe that he was granted the Office on the ninth of Rabi'ul-Awwal, 41 years after the Elephant Year. As for those who believe that he was granted the Office in Ramadān, 41 years after the Elephant Year, to such he completed on that day 12 years, 5 months and 18 or 22 days." See discussions of Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/98) to all the suggestions regarding the date of his arrival at Quba. However, popular is Ibn Ishāq's report that it was 12th of Rabi'ul-Awwal—*Ibn Hishām* (2/156).

¹²¹ According to Ibn Ishāq "O Bani Qilah" referring to the *Ansār*. That was the name of one of their grandmothers—*Ibn Hishām* (2/157).

fields. The sounds of welcome and *Allāhu Akbar* (Allāh is the Most Great) were heard as far away as the dwellings of 'Amr bin 'Awf. They were shouting out *Allāhu Akbar* in joy. They greeted the Prophet ﷺ in the Islamic manner of greeting. Those of them who hadn't seen the Prophet ﷺ greeted Abu Bakr ؓ under the impression that he was the Prophet. It was only when the day got hot and Abu Bakr stood up holding a piece of cloth over the Prophet ﷺ to shelter him, that they knew which of the two was Prophet Muhammad ﷺ.¹²² They surrounded him and at that moment the revelation came,

﴿إِنَّا لِلَّهِ هُوَ مَوْلَانُ وَجِبْرِيلُ وَصَلِحُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ ظَهِيرٌ﴾

"Surely, Allāh is his protector, and Jibril and those of the Muslims who are pious, as well as the angels, are in (his) aid."¹²³

Women, children, slaves and servants were shouting, "Muhammad has arrived. Allāh's Messenger has arrived. God is Great. Muhammad has arrived."¹²⁴ The welcoming party was singing poetical lines:

*The new moon has arisen from behind the Wada' mountains
Gratitude remains due on us, so long as a supplicant
supplicates.*¹²⁵

¹²² Bukhārī's narration ends here.

¹²³ Surat At-Tahrim: 4.

¹²⁴ For this part see *Al-Mustadrak* (3/13). Hākim said: "This is a trustworthy report according to the *Shaykhayn's* conditions, although they did not transmit. Dhahabi gives us to believe that the *Hadith* is in the *Sahihayn*."

¹²⁵ Some scholars reserved their opinion regarding this song, questioning it from the point of text as well as narration due to the phrase *Thaniyyatul-Wada'* which was known to be in the direction of Shām and not Makkah. Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (15/120) that Abu Sa'eed traced it in *Sharful-Mustafa*, and we have reported in *Fawā'idul-Khal'i*, in Interrupted (*Munqati'*) form that, "when the Prophet ﷺ entered Madinah, young girls began to sing:

*The new moon has arisen from behind the Wada' mountains
Gratitude remains due on us, so long as a supplicant supplicates.*

But that has a Faulty (*Mu'dal*) chain. It is possible that this singing took place at the time he was returning from Tabuk." Bayhaqi recorded in his

They were still in the outskirts of the town. The Prophet ﷺ continued until he reached the dwellings of Banu 'Amr bin 'Awf in Quba. He stayed with Kulthum bin Hadm. He was of the Aws. He stayed with him some four days. A mosque was established there in Quba which was the first mosque ever built after he was commissioned as a Prophet.

Then, by Allāh's command, the Prophet ﷺ again mounted his camel, with Abu Bakr ؓ behind him. He passed by Banu Najjār who were related to him from the mother's side. They came out with their swords in his honor. He continued to march towards Madinah. On Friday he happened to be in the dwellings of Banu Sālim bin 'Awf. He offered the Friday prayers in the middle of the valley in a congregation amounting to a hundred men.¹²⁶ It was the Prophet's first Friday prayer in Madinah.¹²⁷

Dalā'il (2/506-507) through a very weak chain, for, between Ibn 'Āishah and the Prophet ﷺ, Mafāwiz who died in the year 228 AH. Nevertheless, Mubārakpuri preferred Mansurpuri's opinion (*Rahmatul-lil-'Ālamin* 1/106), that this song was sung when he arrived at Madinah from Makkah on the basis that the evidences cannot be rejected. Ibn Qaiyim however does not agree in his *Zād* (3/5111) with those who believe that this happened when he arrived from Makkah into Madinah.

On the other hand, 'Urjun wrote in his book *Muhammad Rasulullāh* (2/602) that the well-known song is there in *Mawāhibul-Lddunniyah*, and that Qastalāni said in *Mawāhib*, after citing the report of Anas: "Young girls climbed the roofs at his arrival singing, *The new moon...*" And the report of Anas is in *Abu Dāwud*. 'Urjun thinks the report is trustworthy if referring to the arrival of the Prophet ﷺ into inner parts of Madinah, at the house of Abu Ayyub. He reconciles the reports and discusses them in full. And of course, it is not impossible that the song was repeated a second time at his return from Tabuk. See 'Urjun (2/602-611). We ourselves are inclined to 'Urjun's opinion that the singing took place twice and that *Thaniyyatul-Wada'* are not in the direction of Shām alone. See discussions of Abu Turāb Zāhiri over this issue: *Al-Atharul-Muqtafa li Qissati Hijratil-Mustafa* (pp. 155-162); and Sumhudi *Wafa'ul-Wafa'*, ed. Muhammad 'Abdul-Hamid (4/1167-1172).

¹²⁶ Reported by Ibn Sa'd (2/236-237) with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain and trustworthy narrators. Ibn Ishāq reported in a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) form—*Ibn Hishām* (2/159).

¹²⁷ If we accept the report of Ibn Ishāq regarding the advent of the Prophet

He entered the town only after the Friday prayers in a climate filled with joy and happiness.¹²⁸ He wouldn't pass by any neighbourhood, but they would take hold of his camel's halter and beg him to allow them host an honored guest. He would say, "Leave her, for it is commanded." She kept marching forward, with him mounted on her, until she arrived at the spot where the Madinan Grand Mosque now stands. There she squatted. But he didn't alight. After a few moments she rose up and moved forward a little. Then she turned and came back to the old spot and settled there for good. He came down. The place belonged to Banu Najjār, right in front of Abu Ayyub's house. Abu Ayyub came forward, and

ﷺ at Madinah, his disembarkment at Quba', his entry into Madinah and his building of the Mosque and settling into Ayyub's house... through a single chain, as Bayhaqi understood in his *Dalā'il* then we might say, "Ibn Ishāq reported through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (2/159). Bayhaqi recorded it in his *Dalā'il* (2/512) but Ibn Ishāq did not emphasize on direct hearing.

¹²⁸ Ibn Hajar mentioned it in *Al-Fath* (15/120) that a group of Bani Najjār girls came out playing their tambourines when the Prophet ﷺ descended at their neighborhood. They were saying:

We are the girls of the Banu Najjār

Welcome O Muhammad, as a neighbor.

He ascribed it to Hākim through Ishāq bin Abu Talhah, through Anas. Ibn Kathir mentioned it in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/219) as a narration of Bayhaqi (2/508) through his chain reaching up to Anas (2/508) adding in it after these lines: "The Messenger of Allāh ﷺ came out and asked them: 'Do you love me?' They answered: 'By Allāh, we love you, O Messenger of Allāh.' At that he said three times: 'And, by Allāh, I love you too.'" Ibn Kathir said: "This *Hādith* is Unfamiliar (*Gharib*) by this route. None of the six canonical authors of *Hadith* recorded it. It is Hākim who recorded it in his *Al-Mustadrak*, as it is narrated." Albāni said in *Difa'*, p. 24, quoting his own source, "Its weakness is in Ibn Sirmah." Bayhaqi reported in his *Dalā'il* (2/508) following another route reaching Anas. That report says that they said these lines when the Messenger ﷺ passed by the Banu Najjār neighborhood and that he told them, "Allāh knows that my heart loves you." He did not mention that this took place when he was coming in from Madinah. Albāni declared its chain reliable in *Difa'*, p. 24, and then added, "Indeed in *Bukhārī*, *Muslim* and others through Anas that this was during a ceremony, but he did not produce the lines."

took the saddle, the Prophet said, "A man is with his saddle." As'ad bin Zurārah took charge of his camel.¹²⁹

The Prophet ﷺ occupied the lower floor of the two-story house. Abu Ayyub occupied the upper portion. That night Abu Ayyub ﷺ said to his wife, "Can we walk over the head of the Prophet?" So they spent the night in one corner of the house. Next day he requested the Prophet ﷺ that he better occupy the upper portion. The Prophet ﷺ told him, "Ground floor suits us better." Abu Ayyub said, "I won't be up there while you are down here." So, (some time later) the Prophet ﷺ shifted to the upper floor and Abu Ayyub to the lower.

Abu Ayyub took it upon himself to prepare food for the Prophet ﷺ. When the tray was taken away from the Prophet ﷺ and brought to Abu Ayyub, he would ask for the spot from where the Prophet ﷺ had eaten and he himself ate from there. One day he prepared something in which garlic had been used. When his turn came he asked for the spot from where the Prophet ﷺ had eaten. But he was told that the Prophet ﷺ hadn't eaten at all. He went up and asked him, "Is it unlawful?" The Prophet ﷺ replied, "No. But I don't like it." He said, "And I dislike what you dislike." Actually, it was because angels visited the Prophet ﷺ, and they don't like garlic smell.¹³⁰

Once when a water pitcher broke, at a time when Abu Ayyub was in the upper floor, he and his wife used the only cotton-blanket they

¹²⁹ The news of the Messenger of Allāh arriving in Madinah and his saying: "Leave her, for it is commanded," has been reported by Ibn Sa'd (1/236-237) through a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain. Its narrators are reliable, except for Wāqidi. Ibn Ishāq also reported it through a *Hasan* chain.—Ibn Hishām (2/159). As regards the words of the Prophet, "A man is with his saddle," they are cited from a report in Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (2/509) via a chain in which occurs 'Attāf bin Khālid who was weak. Ibn Hajar remarked about him, "A reliable man given to illusions." Also, it is not reported that Siddiq bin Musa narrated from 'Abdullah bin Zubayr. It is possible that he never met him. In addition, Dhahabi said about him in *Al-Mizān*, "He cannot be depended upon."

I might point out yet that this *Hadith* gathers strength from the reports of this incident through a narration in Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain.

¹³⁰ Reported by *Muslim* (3/1623-1624/H. 2053 and others).

had to prevent the water leaking down on the Prophet ﷺ.¹³¹ It is reported that this became the reason why Abu Ayyub requested the Prophet ﷺ to exchange the floors.¹³² But Muslim¹³³ and Ahmad¹³⁴ report that the reason was that Abu Ayyub and his wife didn't wish to walk over the Prophet's head. We accept this as more trustworthy because of the more reliable source. It is also reported that the Prophet's total period of stay in Abu Ayyub's house was a month.¹³⁵

¹³¹ This was reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (2/164); and Hākim (3/460) who said: "Sahih according to Muslim's conditions, although the two did not recount it." Dhahabi agreed with the statement in his *Talkhis*.

¹³² Reported by Ibn Hajar in *Al Isābah* (1/415) where he ascribed it to Ibn Abu Shaybah and Ibn Abu 'Āsim through Abu Khayr, Abu Ruhm and Abu Ayyub.

¹³³ Muslim (3/1623/H. 2053).

¹³⁴ Ahmad: *Al-Fath* (20/293).

¹³⁵ This was mentioned in a *Hadith* narrated by Abu Ayyub in Hākim's *Al-Mustadrak* (3/461) over which he remained silent, as also Dhahabi. I would say that by this route the *Hadith* is fabricated for there falls in it 'Abdullah bin Zahr, 'Ali bin Yazid, Qāsim, and Abu 'Abdur-Rahmān. Ibn Hibbān said about him in the biography of 'Abdullah bin Zahr: "He narrates fabricated reports through reliable chains. When he narrates through 'Ali bin Yazid, then he narrates destructive ones. And, if in any chain you have together 'Abdullah, 'Ali bin Yazid, Qāsim, and Abu 'Abdur-Rahmān, then the report can be no other than a fabrication at their hands." Despite all this the report happens to be close to reason. This is supported by what Bayhaqi recorded in his *Dalā'il* (2/509) which says that the Prophet ﷺ stayed in the hut wherein Ibn Zurārah used to pray with a group of Muslims before the arrival of the Prophet ﷺ for 12 days—until the Mosque was built. Bayhaqi's chain is not so credible because of the fall of Siddiq therein, who was not so trustworthy; and 'Attāf, a trustworthy man but who suffered illusions. Further, we could not find the biography of Bayhaqi's Shaykh. If we add to this the period during which the houses of the Prophet's wives were built, then the total works out to a month. Ibn Hajar mentioned in *At-Tahdhib* (9113) that the Prophet ﷺ stayed in the house of Abu Ayyub a month until his Mosque was built. Ibn Sa'd (1/237) said through a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain and its narrators are trustworthy except Wāqidi—that he ﷺ stayed seven months. Ibn Hajar mentioned it in *Al-Fath* (15/101 and 109) through Ibn Sa'd, without raising any objection to it. Ibn Kathir also mentioned it in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/231 and 235) adding, "Some others have said that it was less than a month. Allāh knows best."

And no night would pass but three or four *Ansāri* Companions would be at the Prophet's door seeking to bring in food for him until he moved to his own house.¹³⁶

Abu Bakr ؓ had alighted at Hubayb's house. Some have said that it was Khubayb bin Yasāf who lived in Sunh. Another report says that the host was Khārijah bin Zayd.¹³⁷

Lessons and Instructions

1. The Prophet ﷺ announced in the sermon after the fall of Makkah that there was to be no more emigration after the Makkan victory, except that *Jihād* and intention remained.¹³⁸ The reference was to the emigration from Makkah to Madinah. However, emigration from non-Muslim lands to the Muslim lands has remained obligatory until the Day of Judgement.¹³⁹ Emigration to Madinah was necessary in order to establish the Islamic state, defend it, and then expand it by means of invitation to Allāh (ﷻ). Emigration from Makkah to Madinah after its fall was not necessary because Muslims had gained strength in the Islamic state which became their springboard to carry on the mission to all parts of the world. As for *Jihād*, it will go on until the Judgement Day. Accordingly, when the Prophet ﷺ took pledge from the new Muslims after the fall of Makkah, it was on Islam, faith and *Jihād*. Emigration was excluded.¹⁴⁰ Ibn 'Umar ؓ clarified this when he said, "Emigration to the Prophet ﷺ was suspended after the fall of Makkah. But emigration (to an Islamic state) will remain in force

¹³⁶ A narration of Ibn Sa'd (1/233) mentioned earlier. Ibn Kathir also mentioned it in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/222).

¹³⁷ Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (6/63): "Reported by Tabarāni and its narrators are reliable." It was reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (3/157), and it is a part of that *Hadith* of Ibn Ishāq which deals with the people of Madinah waiting for the advent of the Prophet ﷺ as an emigrant.

¹³⁸ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/303/H. 2825), *Muslim* (3/487/H. 1353).

¹³⁹ Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/82 and 11/304), and see *Ahkām-ul-Qur'ān* Ibn 'Arabi (2/876).

¹⁴⁰ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/137/H. 4305-4312).

so long as there is a struggle with the non-Muslims." What he meant is, so long as there is disbelief in the world, emigration is obligatory on any Muslim who feels that he might have to make compromises over his religion.¹⁴¹

This can be supported with Allāh's Words,

﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ تَوَفَّيْنَاهُمُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ ظَالِمِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ قَالُوا فِيمَ كُنْتُمْ قَالُوا كُنَّا مُسْتَضْعَفِينَ فِي الْأَرْضِ قَالُوا أَلَمْ تَكُنْ أَرْضُ اللَّهِ وَاسِعَةً فَهَاجِرُوا فِيهَا فَأُولَئِكَ مَأْوَهُمْ جَهَنَّمُ وَسَاءَتْ مَصِيرًا ٩٧﴾ إِلَّا الْمُسْتَضْعَفِينَ مِنَ الرِّجَالِ وَالنِّسَاءِ وَالْوِلْدَانِ لَا يَسْتَطِيعُونَ حِيلَةً وَلَا يَهْتَدُونَ سَبِيلًا ﴿٩٨﴾

"Those whom the angels meet in a state in which they had wronged their own souls saying, 'In what condition were you?' They say, 'We were weak in the lands.' They ask, 'Wasn't Allāh's earth wide enough for you to emigrate into it?' They, their abode is Hell-fire, except for the weak men, women and children who do not find a means nor know the way."¹⁴²

The above were the conditions that led to the establishment of the Islamic state in Madinah. Its need for soldiers who could defend it made it necessary that emigration to it should be made obligatory on every able Muslim. Khattābi has said, "Emigration to Madinah was in its defense and to acquire the necessary knowledge of Islam. Allāh (ﷻ) stated this clearly in several Verses of the Qur'ān. He severed the ties between a man who migrated and another who did not. He said,

﴿وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَلَمْ يُهَاجِرُوا مَا لَكُمْ مِنْ وَلايَتِهِمْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ حَتَّى يُهَاجِرُوا﴾

"Those who believed but did not emigrate, you have no responsibility whatsoever towards them – until they emigrate."¹⁴³

When Makkah fell, and people from every tribe entered into Islam, emigration became non-obligatory."

¹⁴¹ Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/82/Maghāzī).

¹⁴² *Surat An-Nisa'*: 97-98, see *Al-Fath*: (11/303).

¹⁴³ *Surat Al-Anfāl*: 72. See: *Tafsir* of the Verse at *At-Tabari* (14/78-87/Shākir). Tabari said in explaining "responsibility whatsoever towards them," that it means helping them.

In the light of the above, we might add that if any non-Muslim state allows for easy practice of Islamic way of life and invitation to it, then living there is better than leaving it. Emigration is not obligatory on the Muslims. That is because, the said state is counted as a land of peace. Living in it would be better than moving out because living there might help in the propagation of Islam.¹⁴⁴

2. The Prophet (ﷺ) used every means that reason would demand while undertaking his journey. It was not out of fear for himself or that he might fall into pagan hands, rather it was to set an example for the Muslims who should learn to make use of every possible material means while attempting to do anything in life. That is because it is Allāh's *Sunnah* that when means are available for someone who can take suitable measures, then He does not nullify the need for them. He does that when there is no recourse to means, as He did with Ibrāhim: when he was thrown into the Fire. It was ordered to cool down for him. In such events it becomes a miracle of the Prophet involved, and, if it is a non-Prophet who is involved then it becomes a thaumaturgy. In evidence of what we have stated, it might be brought to notice that after the Prophet (ﷺ) had taken every precaution possible, he was in the least fear during the journey, although his Companion Abu Bakr (رضي الله عنه) was very uneasy. That was perhaps because the latter had some measure of dependence on means that were employed.

In short, everything that the Prophet (ﷺ) did in regard to his safety was only to set an example for his followers. After he had employed them, his heart returned to the state of peace trusting Allāh (ﷻ). This was in order that the Muslims should know that in all situation it is in Allāh (ﷻ) with whom they should place their trust, and that such trust does not deny employing material means for the achievement of the objectives.¹⁴⁵

3. 'Ali's acceptance to lie down in the Prophet's bed in the night of emigration demonstrates his strong faith and great courage. The action also legalizes the means of deceit against the enemy to

¹⁴⁴ See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/82).

¹⁴⁵ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 145.

defeat his evil purposes.

4. The part played by the youth in the implementation of the Prophet's plan of journey, such as of 'Ali and Abu Bakr's two sons, will remain a model for young men of all time.
5. The miracles that accompanied the Prophet ﷺ through and through the journey were a way to prove that Allāh (ﷻ) was with him all the time and that He was going to help him establish His religion on the earth, whether the time it took was long or short.
6. The role that Abu Bakr ؓ played in this journey was a great achievement on his part. It was of such order that even Allāh's revelation mentioned him, although indirectly. It was said,

﴿ثَانِيَانِ إِذْ هُمَا فِي الْغَارِ إِذْ يَقُولُ لِصَاحِبِهِ لَا تَحْزَنْ إِنَّا
اللَّهُ مَعَنَا﴾

"The second of the two when they were in the cave when he was telling his companion, 'Be not vexed, Allāh is with us.'"

7. Abu Ayyub ؓ and his wife's efforts at obtaining the benediction of the Prophet ﷺ, and the Prophet's own agreement to it, lead us to believe that it is allowable to obtain such benedictions where found.¹⁴⁶
8. The manner in which Abu Ayyub and his wife treated the Prophet ﷺ demonstrated the Companions' love of the Prophet ﷺ. This is something that we will repeatedly come across in their life and character.
9. The Prophet's refusal to eat a food containing raw garlic was something special to him. He made it lawful to the Muslims on condition that they should not visit the mosque immediately after consuming such food. Further, the Prophet ﷺ advised those who wish to consume it that they should kill its smell by first cooking it.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ See Albānī in this regard, *At-Tawassul: Anwā'uhu wa Ahkāmuhu*, pp. 142-147.

¹⁴⁷ *Muslim* (1/396/H. 567). Apart from him others also recorded it.

Chapter 3

Foundations of the Islamic Society and State in Madinah

Construction of the First Mosque

Some Muslims had begun to pray on the spot at which the Prophet's camel had halted. It was then a sort of an open stable for camels and a yard for processing dates. It was owned by Sahal and Suhayl. They were orphans of the Banu Najjār tribe living in the quarters of As'ad bin Zurārah. When the camel had halted there the Prophet ﷺ had said, "This, Allāh willing, is the destination." Subsequently, he asked the two boys to be brought forth to work out a price for the piece of land.¹ He wished to build a mosque there. The two said they didn't need any money. But the Prophet ﷺ refused to accept the plot free of cost. He bought it at a price and then began to construct the mosque.² Bukhārī³ has a report that when he intended to build a mosque, the Prophet ﷺ asked for the Banu Najjār. When they came, he said to them, "O Banu Najjār, sell

¹ Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (15/101): "Regarding the narration of Ibn 'Uyaynah: Their uncle spoke to the two that he wanted to sell their place. When he inquired them they asked: "What for?" He had no alternative but to tell them the truth."

² Bukhārī: *Al-Fath* (15/101/H. 3906).

³ *Al-Fath* (15/125/H. 3932).

me this piece of land." They refused to accept a price saying, "By Allāh, we shall accept no price but from Allāh."

Ibn Hajar⁴ has said that some people have argued that it proves that a sale deed is possible without the presence of the owners as in this case when the two boys were not present. But others have replied that it is possible that their uncle, with whom they were living, made the deal on their behalf as other reports suggest.

Trustworthy reports add that the place of choice had a few pagan graves also, and that it was a deserted site with a few palm trees. The Prophet ﷺ ordered that the pagan graves be dug out, the land cleaned up and the palm trees cut down. They used the trunks for making the front portion that was to have the *Qiblah* (prayer direction), constructing the two side walls with stones. The Prophet ﷺ also helped them in collecting the stones.⁵ He was singing the words:

*"This load is better than that of Khayber,
This is better with our Lord and more rewarding."*

The Verses mean to say that the loads that pay off at Khayber when moved from place to place, are less rewarding than this load. He was also singing:

*"O Lord! True reward is the reward of the Hereafter,
Show mercy then to the Ansār and the Muhājir."*⁶

It is reported that others were also echoing his words while carrying stones and singing:

*"O Lord! Nothing is truly good except the good of the Hereafter,
Therefore, help the Ansār and the Muhājir."*⁷

One of the Muslim poets said on that occasion:

*"If we sat down while the Prophet worked,
That surely would be a misguided deed."*⁸

⁴ *Al-Fath* (15/126).

⁵ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/125/H. 3932).

⁶ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/101-126/H. 3906).

⁷ Ibn Hajar mentioned it in *Al-Fath* (15/103) attributing it to Zubayr through Mujammi' bin Yazid.

⁸ *Ibid* but by another route, through Umm Salamah ﷺ.

'Ali bin Abu Tālib said in a piece of his own:

*"Not equal is he who visits the mosques,
Frequenting it, sitting and standing.
And he who is seen escaping from the dust."*

During the construction, the Prophet ﷺ gave preference to anyone who excelled in a trade. Talaq bin 'Ali Yamāmi Hanafi said to the Companions working there, "Hand over the plastering to the Yamāmi for he is better than you all in mixing and application." According to another report coming from him, "I took some sand and mixed it well with water. That pleased the Prophet and he said, 'Let the Hanafi work with the plastering, for he does a good job of it.'" ⁹ The words according to the report in Bayhaqi are, ¹⁰ "Hand over the plastering to the Yamāmi, for he is better than you at construction."

'Ammār bin Yāsir was another person who was very active during the construction of the mosque. While everyone carried one brick, he carried two: one for himself, another on behalf of the Prophet ﷺ. The Prophet ﷺ passed his hand over his back and remarked, "O son of Sumaiyah, you shall have twice the reward. Your last meal will be milk and you will be killed by a rebellious party."¹¹

⁹ Ibn Hajar mentioned these two narrations in *Al-Fath* (3/112), and said: "Reported by Ahmad."

¹⁰ One of the narrations of Talaq. See the narration of Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (2/545) with an authentic chain. Its origin is in the *Sunan* books. Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah* (2/232), and *Al-Fath* (3/112), and Ibn Hibbān in his *Zawā'id*, p. 98, H. 303 with the following words: "I asked O Messenger of Allāh, shall I carry what they carry?" The Prophet ﷺ said, "No, but mix the clay for them as you know it better."

¹¹ Reported by Muslim (4/2236/H. 2916) and Ahmad: *The Musnad* (3/5) and (4/319); Hākim (3/389) and said: "Authentic on the conditions of the Two while they themselves did not trace it." Also *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (3/110/H. 447) without the words, "The rebellious party will kill you." Ibn Hajar sees some weakness for this. In the *Hadith* of Bukhārī, Ahmad, Hākim, and 'Abdur-Razzāq, it was mentioned that these words were spoken out during the construction of the mosque. As for the narrations of Muslim through Abu Nadrah (4/2236/H. 2916), it tells us that they were said

This *Hadith* (tradition) is of course one of the proofs of his prophethood. 'Ammār was indeed killed in the conflict between 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah (may Allāh be pleased with both). He was on 'Ali's side and was killed by Mu'āwiyah's soldiers. He died in the state the Prophet ﷺ had described. Ibn Kathir¹² and Ibn Hajar¹³ have explained the *Hadith* adequately.

The construction took some twelve days.¹⁴ It was after its completion that the quarters for his wives were built in the same manner; and it was after the construction was complete for them that the Prophet ﷺ moved out from the house of Abu Ayyub. Both Sawdah ؓ and 'Āishah ؓ¹⁵ had a house each. Subsequently, as he married more women, more houses were built. They were small houses with a little open yard in front of them.¹⁶ Some were built

during the digging of the trench. Hence Bayhaqi said in *Dalā'il* (2/550), "It is possible that Abu Nadrah was erroneously led to believe that it happened during the trench digging. Or, it is possible that he said it twice: during the mosque construction and during the trench digging. Allāh knows best." Ibn Kathir added his notes (3/238) to Bayhaqi's by saying, "Brick carrying has no meaning with reference to the trench digging. It seems that the reporter got mixed up. Allāh knows best." I say, "This means Ibn Kathir does not agree with Bayhaqi's reconciliation effort that this was said twice, but rather believes that it happened during the mosque construction. See different routes of this *Hadith* by Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (2/547-553), and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/237-238), taking it from 'Abdur-Razzāq, adding, "This meets with the conditions set by the *Shaykhayn*."

¹² *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/238-239).

¹³ *Al-Fath* (3/110-112).

¹⁴ This was mentioned in the narration of 'Abdullah bin Zubayr in *Dalā'il* of Bayhaqi.

¹⁵ See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/78) as a Tabarāni's narration, Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/222), and Ibn Sa'd (1/240), for the description of his wives' houses, see Ahmad: *Al-Fathul-Rabbāni* (21/6-7), and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/241-242).

¹⁶ Ibn Kathir placed it in his *Al-Bidāyah* (3/241) without a chain. Shāmi said in *Subulul-Huda* (3/508): Ibn Sa'd and Bukhāri in *Al-Adabul-Mufrad*, Ibn Abu Dunya, and Bayhaqi in his *Ash-Shu'ab*, reported that Hasan Basri said: "When I was a teenager, I used to enter the houses of the wives of the Prophet ﷺ during the caliphate of 'Uthmān bin 'Affān, and I used to

from frond while others from stones with frond in the roof.¹⁷ Some reports say the roofs were made from cypress tree material.¹⁸ The doors didn't have frames.¹⁹ Subsequently, after the death of the Prophet's wives, all these houses were incorporated into the mosque during the time of 'Abdul-Malik.²⁰

The *Adhān* (call for prayer) as we hear it now, was introduced in the first year itself, according to the better opinion. 'Abdullah bin Zayd dreamed the words. So the Prophet ﷺ ordered Bilāl ؓ to call out using those words. When 'Umar ؓ heard the *Adhān* he came up saying he too had heard the words of 'Abdullah bin Zayd in a vision of his.²¹

The mosque remained as built by the Prophet ﷺ with Abu Bakr ؓ making no changes in it. 'Umar ؓ made some alterations. He changed its pillars to ones of timber and got the roof sealed. 'Uthmān ؓ expanded it greatly altering the walls to decorated ones. He also got the pillars done in decorated stone and laid the roof with sheets.²²

'Umar had ordered that red and yellow colors be avoided in the construction of the mosque so as not to distract the devotees. Anas ؓ used to criticize the people who decorated mosques but neglected to pray in them.²³

touch the roof with my hands." In another *Hadith* Bukhāri reported in *Adab*, Ibn Abu Dunya, and Bayhaqi on the authority of Dāwud and Ibn Qays: "I saw the rooms covered with date-palm leaves and externally a layer of hair topping them."

¹⁷ This was said by Suhayli: *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (2/248) without a chain.

¹⁸ Ibid, being a *Hadith* of Hasan Basri.

¹⁹ Ibid. He ascribed it to Bukhāri in his *Tārikh*.

²⁰ Ibid and Shāmi: "*Subulul-Huda war-Rashad* (3/506-507)

²¹ Reported by Tirmidhi and Ibn Mājah through a *Hasan* chain according to Albāni—*Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi* (1/61-62). As regards the report on *Adhān*, its contents and how it is done, see Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (3/272), and Muslim with the explanation of Nawawi and others. See also *Miftah Kunuzis-Sunnah* for all the various reports and their details.

²² See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (3/106 and 108/H. 446). Abu Dāwud (1/311/H. 451). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (3/108) about the improvements made by 'Uthmān ؓ on the Mosque: "He improved it."

²³ See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (3/107).

At the beginning the Prophet's mosque didn't have a pulpit platform for him to climb to deliver the speeches. He used to rest on a palm trunk while delivering sermons. When a pulpit was made and he shifted on to it, the palm trunk could be heard crying like a she-camel. The Prophet ﷺ came down and patted it and it gradually fell silent as does a kid when patted.²⁴ This was another of the proofs of the Prophet's authenticity.

The best comment made is that of Hasan Basri who said after reporting Anas's narration, himself weeping, "O Muslims. We are worse than timber in our love for the Prophet ﷺ. Shouldn't those who wish to meet him demonstrate greater love?"²⁵

After its completion, the mosque was, first and foremost, a place for worship. But, it met with other purposes, such as:

1) Poor emigrants took shelter in it, especially those who were unmarried and couldn't find a house for themselves. They were known as the 'People of the Platform (*Ahlus-Suffah*).'²⁶

2) It was a refuge for Muslim women, such as Walidah Sawda', who migrated but could not find a house to live in and so pitched a small tent for herself in its yard.²⁷

3) A place of education for the Muslims.

4) A place where poetry was said in reply to satires against

²⁴ See the different versions of the *Hadith* in various words in *Al-Bukhāri* and its explanation in *Al-Fath* (14/95/H. 3584, 3585); Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/239-240) and the present context is his. Bayhaqi also quoted it in his *Dalā'il* (2/556-563) from several sources and said at the end, "The reports we have presented in connection with the camel's moaning, are all trustworthy." The verifier Qala'ji said, "These are Continuous (*Mutawātir*) reports that have come down from several Companions, through a variety of chains which prove it beyond doubt." (p. 563). I might add that Bukhāri's narration should suffice.

²⁵ *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (2/559).

²⁶ *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (3/102) being a statement of Anas ؓ in the chapter dealing with Men sleeping in the Mosque. See also the chapter that was written by Dr. Akram 'Umari in his valuable book: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: At-Tanzimāt*, pp. 89-105.

²⁷ See her story when she was accused of stealing a scarf that belongs to one of their daughters in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (3/100/H. 439).

Islam and Muslims.²⁸

5) A place where prisoners were kept, especially when the objective was to teach them Islam. They saw the prayers performed there and heard the admonitions of the Prophet ﷺ and recitation of the Qur'ān. That softened them as it happened in case of Thumāmah bin Uthāl.

6. Tents used to be pitched for the treatment of the injured picked up from battlefields. Rafidah's tent during the Battle of the Trench is an example.²⁹

7. A place to receive foreign delegates that came to the Prophet ﷺ.

8. A place for distribution of military standards to the troops that were sent out.

9. A place for Muslims to meet their leader. This has two advantages:

(a) The ability of the leader to know first hand the situation of his followers through personal contact and,

(b) The ability of the Muslims to know one another more closely and help each other out in times of difficulties.

With the passage of time, many of the above functions have been taken off the mosques because of the failure to appreciate the true functions of mosques in Islam. They have now been turned into mere places of worship.

Wisdom and Lessons in the Construction of the Prophet's Mosque

1. From the precedence of the Prophet's decision to buy off the land from the elders of the family, rather than from the orphans, the jurists have ruled that any deal entered into with a minor is null and void. The Qur'ān also supports this rule. It says,

²⁸ *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (3/118/H. 453). See the explanation of Ibn Hajar to the reports in this chapter.

²⁹ *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (3/129/H. 461, 463).

﴿وَلَا تَقْرَبُوا مَالَ الْيَتِيمِ إِلَّا بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ حَتَّىٰ يَبْلُغَ أَشُدَّهُ﴾

"And do not go near the orphan's wealth except by goodly means - until he reaches the age of puberty."³⁰

As for the reports that say that the Prophet ﷺ purchased the land directly from the two orphans, it might be argued that in this case the Prophet ﷺ himself acted as their custodian being in fact a custodian of the Muslims in the general sense. The ruling by some scholars based on this *Hadith* then—that dealings with the minors are lawful—is not very strong, for the Verse quoted above goes against reports in the *Hadith* literature. The scholars have more to say in regard to dealings with minors. For example,³¹

(a) His dealings are termed defective, such as his acceptance of gifts which is otherwise legally allowable.

(b) His dealings are harmful when he endows something, which is legally disallowed.

(c) If a minor's dealings allow for swing between profits and losses in business affairs they are subject to the permission of the custodian.

2. The Prophet's action of getting ancient pagan graves dug out and cleansed proves its legality for the sake of constructing mosques, if the land is otherwise suitable.
3. The *Hadith* also gives us to believe that a land in which the dead have been buried long ago, can be sold away; and that it remains the property of the owners unless given out in charity.³²
4. Going by the simplicity followed by the Prophet ﷺ, and by 'Umar's instruction to the builders in words, "Save the people from rain water, but avoid red and yellow colors,"³³ the

³⁰ Surat Al-An'ām: 152, Surat Al-Isrā': 33.

³¹ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 153, and *I'lāmus-Sājid* by Zarkashi, p. 223.

³² See Buti, p. 154 and *I'lāmus-Sājid*, p. 236, as well as Ibn Hajar *Al-Fath* (15/125-126).

³³ See *I'lāmus-Sājid*, p. 337.

scholars have disapproved of decorations of the mosques, while some have totally forbidden it.³⁴

5. Scholars have disagreed over inscriptions of Qur'ānic Verses on the front wall of the mosque whether it is permitted or not. Zarkashi says,³⁵ "It is undesirable to inscribe on the front wall Verses of the Qur'ān or something else." Mālik said, "Some scholars have allowed it in the light of 'Uthmān doing it in the Prophet's mosque with no one then objecting to it."

Institution of Brotherhood

When the *Muhājir* arrived from Makkah, they had nothing in their possession, having left their wealth and property behind. Therefore, although they knew nothing about farming, the *Ansār*, who were a farming people, allowed them to labor in their orchards and fields at half the produce as their wage. Some of them gifted away some of their property outright. The *Muhājir* returned the lands after the fall of Khayber. The Prophet ﷺ also returned their gifts after Banu Qurayzah and Banu Nadir had vacated their dwellings.³⁶

Ansār's treatment of the *Muhājir* in this manner was of course a sign of their love for them and a proof of their sacrifice. Allāh (ﷻ) Himself bore witness in words,

³⁴ See Buti, pp. 154-155. Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (3/108-109): "The first to decorate mosques was Walid bin Abdul-Malik bin Marwān, which was at the end of the Companions' era. Many people of knowledge kept quiet in order to avoid disturbance and commotion, while some have approved it including Abu Hanifah who conditioned its legality if veneration of the mosques is the objective and nothing is spent on it from the governmental treasury. Ibn Munir said, "When people began to decorate their houses, it became necessary to decorate the mosques also to avoid their belittling." It has been said however that if the prevention is in order to follow the *Salaf* and giving up of adornment, then it is as he said. However, if it is feared that it will affect the concentration of the devotee because of the decoration, then the original prohibition remains.

³⁵ *I'lāmus-Sājid*, p. 337.

³⁶ Muslim/*An-Nawawī* (12/99-101/*The Book of Al-Jihād was-Sayr*).

وَالَّذِينَ تَبَوَّءُوا الدَّارَ وَالْإِيمَانَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ يُحِبُّونَ مَنْ هَاجَرَ إِلَيْهِمْ وَلَا يَجِدُونَ
فِي صُدُورِهِمْ حَاجَةً مِمَّا أُوتُوا وَيُؤْثِرُونَ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ
خَصَاصَةٌ ﴿٣٧﴾

"And those who held fast unto the city, and to faith before them. They love those who have migrated to them, finding no constriction in their hearts over what they are given (by the Prophet) and give them preference over their own selves, even if they be in great need."³⁷

Their sacrifice was of such order that they said to the Prophet ﷺ, "If you wished you could take our houses." The Prophet ﷺ praised them but preferred to construct new houses for the *Muhājir* over lands that the *Ansār* had gifted or in lands that belonged to no one.³⁸

The *Ansār* also suggested that the Prophet ﷺ divide the orchards between them and the *Muhājir*. He said, "Rather, let them help you out and share the produce with you." They said, "We have heard, and we shall obey."³⁹

The Prophet ﷺ also told the *Ansār*, "Your brothers have left back their wealth and property and have come down to you." They said, "Our wealth stands divided between us and them." The

³⁷ Surat Al-Hashr: 9. See Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath (14/261/H. 3776).

³⁸ This was said by Balādhuri in *Ansābul-Ashrāf* (1/270). Its origin is in a Hadith of Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath (15/123/H. 3929) where it is mentioned that the *Ansār* drew lots to assign dwellings to the *Muhājir*.

³⁹ Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath (14/264/H. 3782), Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/100). Ibn Kathir mentioned it in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/250) and said: "This Hadith has come down through three chains. It meets with the conditions set by the *Shaykhayn*. However, none of the Six recorded it through this chain. But it is a trustworthy report. Sā'ātī has the same to say in his commentary on *Musnad*. Dr. Sa'ud however censored the two (*Hijrah* thesis, p. 249). He said, "They erred in their statements for Tirmidhi has indeed recorded it saying, 'This is a Good & Unfamiliar (*Hasan-Gharib*) report from this route.'" See *Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi* (2/303-304, chapters describing Doomsday, chapter 14). Albāni said, "Trustworthy." The Hadith has narrators of the *Sahihayn*.

Prophet ﷺ replied, "Rather, let there be some other arrangement." They asked, "What could that be?" He replied, "They are a people unused to work (in the farms). So, teach them how to work and then divide the produce between yourselves." They agreed.⁴⁰

Bukhārī⁴¹ has reported through Anas ؓ: "The Prophet ﷺ asked the *Ansār* to assemble themselves so that he could divide the Bahrain tribute among them. They said, 'No. Not unless you grant similar share to our brother *Muhājir*.' He said, 'If you say no, then you better observe patience until you meet me (in the Hereafter). For, in days after me you will encounter prejudice (against you).'"

And neither did the *Ansār* fail, nor showed a lack of spirit in treating well the Prophet's guests. Bukhārī⁴² has preserved a report that a man went to the Prophet ﷺ hungry. He did not find anything with his wives to offer him to eat. So, the Prophet ﷺ sought from his Companions that they extend treatment to his guest. One of the *Ansār* agreed. But he had nothing at home except what would be enough for him, his wife and children. So he put the children to sleep and his wife presented the food to the guest. Then they put out the lamp and pretended that they were eating with him, although they went to bed hungry. Allāh (ﷻ) revealed about them, "And they give preference to others over themselves even if there be great need."

However, despite the sacrifices on behalf of the *Ansār*, the Prophet ﷺ wished to institute an Islamic solution to the economic problem and to let the *Muhājir* realize that they were not entirely the responsibility of the *Ansār*. Accordingly, he instituted brotherhood in the first year of emigration.⁴³ It is reported that the announcement

⁴⁰ Ibn Kathir mentioned it in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/250) although we could not find its origin. Nonetheless, meaningwise it is authentic.

⁴¹ Al-Fath (14/270/H. 3794).

⁴² Al-Fath (14/271-272/H. 3797).

⁴³ Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (15/130): They differed over when was it officiated, for it was said that it started five months after *Hijrah* (Ibn 'Abdul-Barr, *Ad-Durar*, p. 96). Another opinion is that it was and it was nine months after *Hijrah* (although I do not know who said this). Yet another opinion is it happened while he was building the mosque (*Ad-Durar*, p. 96, and *Uyunul-Athar*, 1/200). It was also said that it took place a year and a quarter before Badr. Ibn Sa'd (1/238) said that it took place after *Hijrah* and before Badr.

to that effect was made in Anas bin Mālik's house.⁴⁴ Others have reported that it took place in the mosque.⁴⁵ It has also been said that it took place twice: once in Makkah between the Makkan Muslims themselves, and a second time between them and the Madinans. This is the one that has been discussed here.⁴⁶

Ibn Sa'd⁴⁷ has reported through his Shaykh Wāqidi through various second-generation narrators that when the Prophet ﷺ arrived at Madinah he instituted brotherhood among the *Muhājir* and *Ansār*. They were to help each other and inherit each other at death, to the exclusion of the kin. They were ninety in total: forty-five from the *Muhājir* and forty-five from the *Ansār*. Some have said that they were a hundred, fifty from each.

Bukhārī⁴⁸ has reported through Ibn 'Abbās ؓ that when the *Muhājir* arrived at Madinah, they inherited the *Ansār* to the exclusion of other *Ansār* in accordance with the brotherhood rules.

⁴⁴ This was said by Anas ؓ. See *Al-Bukhārī: Al-Fath* (10/41/H. 2294); *Muslim* (4/196/H. 2529); Ahmad in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/7-8) and Abu Dāwud through different routes quoting Anas. Its text is: "The Prophet ﷺ made alliance between the *Muhājir* and *Ansār* in my house." See Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/245), and *Ibn Sad* (1/238-239).

⁴⁵ This was said by Abu Sa'eed in *Sharful-Mustafā*, as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/130). It looks like and Allāh knows best that there is no contradiction between these statements. For, the brotherhood was not instituted in one sitting but rather it depended on the acceptance of Islam and arrival of new *Muhājir* into Madinah. Of course, whatever is reported in the *Sahih* is to be received preference, and all that Muslim's text tells us that the brotherhood between the *Muhājir* and *Ansār* started in the house of Anas ؓ.

⁴⁶ This was said by Ibn 'Abdul-Barr in *Ad-Durar*, p. 100.

⁴⁷ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/238). Ibn Sa'd was not the only one to mention the brotherhood between the *Muhājir* themselves in Madinah as pointed out by Dr. 'Umari in *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni fi 'Ahdin-Nubuwwah*, p. 75. Hākim also reported in *Al-Mustadrak* and Diya' in *Al-Mukhtārāh* on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ who said, "The Prophet ﷺ instituted brotherhood between Zubayr and Ibn Mas'ud." Ibn Hajar mentioned this in *Al-Fath* (15/131) declaring its chain as just about Good (*Hasan*). Ibn Hajar also said in *Al-Fath* (15/131) commenting on this chain, "When this is combined with what has preceded, then it gets stronger."

⁴⁸ *Al-Fath* (17/112-113/H. 4580), and see *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (2/255).

However, Ibn Hajar⁴⁹ has said that the reason for brotherhood was that some of the *Muhājir* were stronger than others of the *Muhājir* themselves in terms of wealth, size of the family and other points of measure. So, the Prophet ﷺ instituted brotherhood in order that the weaker should become equal with the stronger. Hence, he declared 'Ali his own brother, for, in the pre-Islamic times it was he who was supporting 'Ali. So was the brotherhood between Hamzah and Zayd bin Hārithah, for Zayd was the freed slave of Hamzah's family. Thus, sometimes a *Muhājir* was made a brother of another *Muhājir*.⁵⁰

Following the above principle, the Prophet ﷺ declared brotherhood between himself and 'Ali,⁵¹ between Zubayr and Ibn Mas'ud,⁵² 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf and Sa'd bin Rabi',⁵³ Salmān Fārisi and Abu Darda',⁵⁴ Abu 'Ubaydah and Abu Talhah,⁵⁵ 'Umar

⁴⁹ See *Al-Fath* (15/129).

⁵⁰ Ibn Ishāq mentioned creation of brotherhood between the Prophet ﷺ and 'Ali, and between Hamzah and Zayd — *Ibn Hishām* (2/171-172) without a chain.

⁵¹ This has come in a *Hadith* reported by Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (3/14) via a chain in which falls Ishāq bin Bishr Kāhili and Jumai' bin 'Umayr Tamimi. But he offered no comments. Dhahabi however said that Jumai' was accused of lying while Kāhili was considered a destroyer. Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (15/131) after quoting several *Ahādith* that mention brotherhood between 'Ali ؓ and the Prophet ﷺ, "When this is combined with what has preceded, it becomes stronger." See Ibn Ishāq — *Ibn Hishām* (2/172) without a chain. The two verifiers of *Zād* said (3/64), "The reports that have come in connection with the brotherhood between the Prophet ﷺ and 'Ali are all weak. The report that Tirmidhi has in his collection (3722) has Jumai' bin 'Umayr in its chain who was charged by Ibn Hibbān of forgery." Ibn Numayr said, "He was most lying of all."

⁵² The source of this *Hadith* has been cited earlier. Ibn Ishāq has it that he declared brotherhood between Zubayr and Salamah bin Waqsh. See *Ibn Hishām* (2/173). However, this has a weak chain.

⁵³ This is in *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/263-64/H. 3780).

⁵⁴ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/132/H. 3936) and Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (4/80-85) by different routes. Ibn Sa'd too has it but through a weak chain that he declared brotherhood between Abu Darda' and 'Awf bin Mālik Ashja'i. See *At-Tabaqāt* (4/80) and Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/131) who is the one who indicated that Ibn Sa'd's chain is weak. But of course, reliable is only that which is in the *Sahih* works.

⁵⁵ *Muslim* (4/1960/H. 2528), and Ahmad — as mentioned by Ibn Kathir in *Al-*

bin Khattāb and 'Itbān bin Mālik,⁵⁶ and between Abu Bakr and Khārijah bin Zayd.

Ibn Ishāq⁵⁷ has listed many names of those between whom the Prophet ﷺ declared brotherhood. Ibn Hajar⁵⁸ has studied them and given answers to some of the doubts that arise therewith.⁵⁹

As to how it was received, we might consider a single case: that of 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf and Sa'd bin Rabi'. Sa'd told 'Abdur-Rahmān, "I am the richest of the *Ansār*. So, let me divide my wealth into two halves. Let one half be yours. Make a decision about one of my wives and I'll divorce her in your favor." 'Abdur-Rahmān replied, "I don't need either. Instead, show me the way to the marketplace." He showed him the way to the Banu Qaynuqah markets. He did not return from there but he had some butter and cheese with him. As he kept visiting the markets, he earned enough to be on his own, independent of his brother's help. Finally, he married a woman from the *Ansār* offering her gold the size of a date seed as dowry. The Prophet ﷺ told him to host a dinner, even if he had to slaughter a single goat.⁶⁰

The Prophet ﷺ also declared brotherhood in order to cure loneliness and alienation felt by the *Muhājir* in the new surroundings and to lessen the grief of being away from their wives, family and friends. With the passage of time when Islam grew stronger, loneliness was no more a problem. In a short time the Immigrants had indulged deeper in life, knew how to make a living, and so the special laws of one inheriting the other were declared null and void, leaving the brotherhood of Islam in place.

Bidāyah (3/249) on the authority of Anas ؓ.

⁵⁶ Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (15/131): "It has been mentioned before at the beginning of (ch. on) *Salāt* that 'Umar said: I used to have a brother from the *Ansār*." It was explained that this was 'Itbān bin Mālik. Ibn Ishāq mentioned it without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/173).

⁵⁷ *Ibn Hishām* (2/172-175).

⁵⁸ *Al-Fath* (15/131).

⁵⁹ See Shāmi: *Subulul-Huda war-Rashād* (3/529-533) who listed the names of those who joined in the brotherhood, citing different sources.

⁶⁰ See the whole *Hadith* along with its context in *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (9/133-134/H. 2048).

Allāh (ﷻ) sent down the Verse,

﴿وَأُولُوا الْأَرْحَامِ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلَىٰ بِبَعْضٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ﴾

"And the kinsfolk have greater rights upon each other in the Book of Allāh. Surely, Allāh is the Knower of all things."

And,

﴿وَأُولُوا الْأَرْحَامِ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلَىٰ بِبَعْضٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُهَاجِرِينَ إِلَّا أَنْ تَفْعَلُوا إِلَىٰ أَوْلِيَائِكُمْ مَعْرُوفًا كَانَ ذَلِكَ فِي الْكِتَابِ مَسْطُورًا﴾

"The kinsfolk have greater rights upon each other in the Book of Allāh: of the *Muhājir* and *Ansār*; unless you wish to do good to your patrons. This is written in the Book."⁶¹

These Verses came down after the battle of Badr.⁶² Some say after Uhud.⁶³

Ibn 'Abbās ؓ⁶⁴ has said that the brotherhood itself was never declared null and void. It was only the rule of the *Muhājir* and *Ansār* inheriting each other that was declared null and void. As for help and support of each other which was required of those in the new system, it remained in force, with the possibility that some of them

⁶¹ *Surat Al-Anfāl*: 75, and *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 6. See the commentary in *Fathul-Qadeer* by Shawkāni (2/330-331), and *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (4/43) and (6/382-383) through a trustworthy chain. See also Suhayli: *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (2/252).

⁶² Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (1/238) through Wāqidi.

⁶³ This was said by Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Hātim and Hākim. Ibn Marduwayh declared it trustworthy as mentioned by 'Umari in *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*, p. 78, re-quoting from *Lubābun-Nuqul* (p. 260), and Shawkāni in *Fathul-Qadeer* (2/330-331).

⁶⁴ In a *Hadith* that is reported by *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (17/11-13/H. 4580), and the supporting material is in its text: "When the following Verse was revealed, 'And for everyone We have made supporters,' it (brotherhood) was abrogated. Then it was said, 'except for what your oaths tie up,' that is, help, sincerity, etc., inheritance was annulled, although it could be bequeathed."

left a will for the other. Nawawi has also accepted this interpretation.⁶⁵

What lends credibility to the theory that brotherhood remained in force without the inheritance clause is the fact that brotherhood was instituted between Salmān Farisi and Abu Darda', although Salmān embraced Islam between the events of Uhud and the battle of the Ditch.⁶⁶ Brotherhood between Mu'āwiyah and Hutāt Tamimi is another example which must have taken place only after the fall of Makkah,⁶⁷ when Mu'āwiyah entered into Islam. Hutāt himself had embraced Islam along with the delegates that had arrived in the 9th year after *Hijrah*. Similarly,⁶⁸ brotherhood between Ja'far bin Abu Tālib and Mu'ādh bin Jabal could have taken place only after Ja'far's return from Abyssinia subsequent to the events of Khayber in the seventh year after *Hijrah*.⁶⁹

Lessons

1. Members of any organization that has common objectives need to enter into brotherhood requiring help and support in times of ease as well as difficulties. Such brotherhood springing out from their faith will enjoy strength and endurance and will help them attain their religious objectives. Hence the Prophet's endeavor to institute it. It was a proof of their sincerity to their religion and resulted in obtaining Allāh's approval apart from helping them in establishing themselves on the land. It also offered a good example for those that followed them.

⁶⁵ See *Muslim* (4/1960, footnote).

⁶⁶ See his biography in *Al-Isābah* (2/62) and *Al-Isti'āb* (2/58). Ibn 'Abdul-Barr outweighed the opinions of those who said that he embraced Islam after Uhud and it is proved that the first battle he saw was that of the Ditch. See *At-Tabaqāt* (4/75).

⁶⁷ See his biography in *Al-Isābah* and *Al-Isti'āb*, and this is of the well-known things.

⁶⁸ See his biography in *Al-Isābah* (1/311).

⁶⁹ See: Emigration of Muslims to Abyssinia, and the battle of Khayber.

2. Based on the first experiment, it is for Muslims of all times to enter into such brotherhood, help and support pacts, allowing them rights on each other more than those of the ordinary rights and duties on the believers for each other.⁷⁰
3. There is a good example in 'Abdur-Rahmān's decision to stay independent of the *Ansāri* brother's help.

The Madinan Pact

Once the Prophet ﷺ was well settled in Madinah, he began to make efforts to define and discipline the relationship between its various tribal elements. He got a treatise written down which in time came to be known variously as "the Book," or "the Manuscript" which the latter day traditionists call "the constitution" or "the document."

We wish to present this document in some detail here because of the importance attached to it by the research students who have made it the basis for understanding the organization of the new state in Madinah and regulating the relationship of an Islamic state with others of the world.

(i) Contents of the Document⁷¹

(a) Articles of the Document pertaining to the Muslims

- The believers of the Quraysh and Yathrib, and those who followed them and joined them, are one community, exclusive of others.
- Every subunit of the believers (*Muhājir*, the Banu Sā'idah of the Aws...), will remain on conditions as before,⁷² offering blood money and redeeming the imprisoned as before, following the

⁷⁰ See Dr. 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*, p. 80.

⁷¹ For more details see Shāmi: *Min Ma'ānis-Sirah*, pp. 163-164. See all the articles in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (2/167-172) whose source is Ibn Ishāq.

⁷² Their condition at the time Islam came.

principles of virtue and justice prevalent among the believers. And the believers will not leave a poor man⁷³ of large family unaided in matters of blood money and redemption.

- Believers are to help each other against any oppressor, acting as one body, even if he (the oppressor) be one of their (non-believing) sons.
- Allāh's guarantees are for everyone, to include the lowest among them in offering protection to anyone, but believers are each other's supporters, exclusive of the other people.
- Whoever of the Jews joined with the believers will have their help and support. They will not be oppressed and others will not be helped against them.

(b) Articles pertaining to the Pagans

- A (Madinan) pagan will not provide protection to the life and property of one of the Quraysh nor shall he provide help and assistance to one of them against the Muslims.
- The Quraysh and their allies shall have the right to peace if they ask, except for those who fought against Islam.

(c) Articles pertaining to the Jews

- The Jews will offer financial help to the Muslims in their battles against the pagans.
- The Jews of Banu 'Awf and the Muslims are one body except that the Jews will follow their own religion, remaining in possession of their slaves and their other people. As for the other Jews such as of the Banu Najjār and Banu Hārith, they are like the Jews of Banu 'Awf. The allies of the Jews are to be treated like the main body of the Jews.
- No military action will be launched by the Jews without the consent and agreement of the Prophet ﷺ.

⁷³ One who has many offspring and hence overburdened with debts.

- The Jews will bear their own costs, as will the believers. They are only to help each other when one of the parties of this document is attacked by an enemy. They are to be sincere to each other; help being the right of the oppressed.

(d) Articles related to Common Affairs

- The heart of the town of Yathrib is herewith declared sanctified; the neighbor is like one's own self, not to be harmed, so long as he commits no wrong and that no one should provide refuge to anyone without the permission of its inhabitants.
- Whatever disagreements that arise between the parties to this pact will be subjected to Allāh's injunctions and taken to Muhammad ﷺ for arbitration.
- The Quraysh and their allies will not be provided refuge.
- Those who have signed this document will extend help against those who invade Yathrib.
- A man is in peace in all situations whether he went into the open or remained at home, except for him who oppressed. Surely, Allāh (ﷻ) provides refuge to the pious and the godly and so does Muhammad ﷺ the Messenger of Allāh.

(ii) Sources of the Document⁷⁴

1. The first who mentioned it in full was Muhammad bin Ishāq who died in 151 AH.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ After Allāh's help, we made extensive use of the newest research of Daydān Yāmi in connection with the source of this document. It is in: *Bayānūl-Haqiqah fil-Hukm 'Alal-Wathiqah: Wathiqatul-Madinah*; as also the Master's thesis of Hārūn Rashid Muhammad Ishāq, still a manuscript under the heading, *Sahifatul-Madinah: Dirāsah Hadithiyyah wa Tahqiq*, and Dr. Akram 'Umari's *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*.

⁷⁵ See *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (2/167-172), without a chain; and it has 52 articles according to Dr. 'Awn Sharif Qāsim which he has in his book *Diplomā-siyyatu Muhammad ﷺ*, pp. 241-244; but 47 articles according to the writing

2. Imam Ahmad (241 AH) mentioned it in brief saying, "The Prophet ﷺ got a document written which said about the *Muhājir* and the *Ansār* that they would pay blood money for each other and that they would redeem each other's prisoners and deal with Muslim affairs following principles of virtue." He narrated this report at two places in his *Musnad*.

3. Ahmad bin Abu Khaythamah's report (279 AH) as mentioned by Ibn Sayyidin-Nās.⁷⁶ He reported it in similar manner as did Ibn Ishāq. However, he gave a complete list of narrators. One of the narrators is Kathir bin 'Abdullah who is a controversial figure:⁷⁷ some trusting him,⁷⁸ others not.⁷⁹

4. Narratives by Abu 'Ubayd bin Qāsim bin Salām (224 AH). Two of them are in *Al-Amwāl* (p. 126). One of them is through two chains. However, the first chain is weak for it stops at Zuhri. Also,

of Hārūn Rashid, pp. 15-54 without any differences over the contents.

⁷⁶ See *Uyunul-Athar* (1/197, 198).

⁷⁷ Of those who ascribed weakness to him or accused him of lying: Ibn Abu Hātim in *Al-Jarhu wat-Ta'dil* (7/54); Ibn Hajar in *At-Taqrīb* (2/132); Dhahabi in *Al-Mizān* (3/406-407) and Ibn Hibbān in *Al-Majruhin* (3/221).

⁷⁸ See Daydān Yāmi: *Bayānul-Haqiqah*, pp. 16-19.

⁷⁹ See Hārūn: *Sahifatul-Madinah Al-Munawwarah*, p. 99. Hārūn studied it in detail collecting together all opinions. See pp. 71-100, and talked about the possibility of being wrong when accusing Kathir of lying, seeing that Bukhārī approved one of his narrations which he mentioned in his *Sahih*. It deals with the Creation of the Deeds of the Slaves, and the other with recitation behind the *Imām*. Tirmidhi also used him as his narrator in non-*Sahih* works: *Tārikhul-Kabir* (2/3/307). When Tirmidhi asked Bukhārī about a *Hadith* reported through Kathir, Bukhārī described it as *Hasan*. See Hārūn, p. 96-98. Following Tirmidhi's approval of the narrator, through acceptance of a *Hadith* of his as *Sahih*, and the declaration of five reports coming through him as *Hasan*. See Hārūn, p. 99. Abu Dāwud narrated through him without making a comment; Yahya bin Sa'eed Ansāri, Hākim, Ibn Khuzaymah, Fasawi, and others. In sum we might state Hārūn that the news of the document that Kathir bin 'Abdullah narrated does not fall below those reports that Bukhārī recorded through Kathir in reference to the Creation of the Deeds of the Slaves, and recitation behind the *Imām*. *Tārikhul-Kabir* has it (Hārūn: p. 298): The chain of Ibn Abu Khaythamah is at least *Hasan li Ghayrihi* (p. 132).

one of the narrators was 'Abdullah bin Sālih who was also a controversial narrator.⁸⁰ That narration says, "Allāh's Messenger ﷺ got this document written: 'From Muhammad (declaring a pact) between Muslim believers of the Quraysh and the people of Yathrib and those who followed them, or joined them and fought with them... that they are one party.'" Thereafter he mentioned a long narration giving out details of blood money in the same manner as Ibn Ishāq.

The second of the two reports has Yahya bin 'Abdullah in it,⁸¹ through Layth, but is also weak. It also stops at Zuhri. One might pass the same comments about this report as the earlier one, except for the difference that Yahya bin 'Abdullah is trusted when he narrates through Layth. 'Abdullah bin Sālih has also followed him.

Another report comes through Hajjāj which is also weak because it stops at Ibn Jurayj who was known for various weaknesses.⁸² Its text says, "The Prophet's document was drawn for Muslims and believers of the Quraysh, the people of Yathrib, and those who followed them or joined them. It was to the effect that the believers will not abandon anyone of them without helping with blood money or redemption money."

A third report is under a chapter titled *Gharibul-Hadith* (3011). There are three versions of the report there. The first is through Hafs through Kathir bin 'Abdullah, he through his father, he through his

⁸⁰ See *At-Taqrīb* (1/423) where he said about him: "He is truthful with many mistakes. He was absent minded." Qattān's final opinion about it is that his *Hadith* is *Hasan*—see *Tahdhibut-Tahdhib* (11/237, 238). Bukhārī reported through him in his notes as well as Abu Dāwud, Tirmidhi, and Ibn Mājah. See *At-Taqrīb* (1/433). Also see Hārūn, pp. 64-65, for other opinions about it.

⁸¹ Reported by Bukhārī, Muslim and Ibn Mājah, as in *At-Taqrīb* (2/351) and *At-Tahdhib* (11/237-238) and Ibn Hibban mentioned him among the trustworthy ones (9/263). Dhahabi confirmed the opinion and said (*Al-Mizān*, 4/392), "His narrative may be used for legal purposes." Hārūn said (p. 97), "There is some weakness in his narratives through Mālik. As for those through Layth, there is no such problem and, therefore, he is trusted, as in *At-Taqrīb*."

⁸² See Ibn Hajar in *Al-Taqrīb* (1/520).

grandfather. It is brief. We have already spoken about Kathir. Another report has Hammād bin 'Ubayd⁸³ and Jābir bin Ju'fi,⁸⁴ both of whom are weak. It stops at Sha'bi or at Abu Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Ali Bāqir. It is weak because of Hammād and Jābir.

5. Humayd bin Zanjuyah's report (251 AH). He presented it in his *Kitābul-Amwal*⁸⁵ in similar words as of Ibn Ishāq. Most of them are from Zuhri with 'Abdullah bin Sālih as the narrator about whom we have already mentioned. The narration is then, weak.

6. Imam Bayhaqī's narration (458 AH). He has two narrations in his *Sunan Al-Kubra* (8/106). First of them is through 'Uthmān bin Muhammad. He said, "I received this document from the family of 'Umar bin Khattāb along with the letter that 'Umar wrote to his governors. It said, "In the Name of Allāh, the Kind, the Merciful. This is a document from the Prophet ﷺ covering the Muslims and believers of the Quraysh and those who followed them, joined them and fought with them ... (until) ... and that it is incumbent upon the believers that they extend help in blood money and redemption money due from an offender." This report has Muhammad bin 'Abdul Jabbār 'Utāridi in it who was weak,⁸⁶ and 'Uthmān bin Muhammad, who was trusted by some.⁸⁷ However he carries other

⁸³ Dhahabi stated in *Al-Mizān* (1/597) Ibn Abu Hātim's opinion about him that he, "does not narrate trustworthy reports, and so may not be paid attention to. Bukhāri said that his reports are not to be trusted.

⁸⁴ Ibn Hajar said in *At-Taqrīb* (1/123), "a weak Shi'ah narrator," and Dhahabi quoted in *Al-Mizān* (1/380) Abu Hanifah's opinion that he never met with a man a bigger liar than him," and Nasa'i's opinion and that of others that he was abandoned. Yahya bin Qattān's opinion was that his narratives might not be recorded. Abu Dāwud's opinion was that he never considered him as man of trustworthy reports."

⁸⁵ (2/466/H. 750).

⁸⁶ Ibn Hajar said about him in *At-Taqrīb* (1/19): "Weak although his reports in biographical matters are trustworthy." He said in *At-Tahdhib* (1/15) that Ibn Abu Hātim ceased reporting through him because of many people's discussion about him. Ibn Ma'in cried lies against him while Hākim treated him weak, as did Ibn 'Adi. He mentioned Ibn 'Adi's words that he doesn't know any narrative from him that was Denounced (*Munkar*). They declared him weak because he did not meet any of those he used to narrate from.

⁸⁷ He has been trusted by Ibn Ma'in, Tirmidhi and Ibn Hibbān—see *At-*

weaknesses.⁸⁸ Further, Yunus bin Bukayr surfaces in the report.⁸⁹ He too was a controversial figure.

The report itself is much shortened in comparison to that of Ibn Ishāq. It mentions nothing about the Jews. The second report is similar to the first, more trustworthy,⁹⁰ but again, has Kathir bin 'Abdullah who has been commented upon.

7. Ibn Abu Hātim's report: He has mentioned it in the foreword to his book *Al-Jarhu wat-Ta'dil*.⁹¹ He took it through his own narrators that reaches Awzā'i. The latter wrote to 'Abdullah bin Muhammad—the leader of the faithful—a long letter. He said therein, "Zuhri has narrated to me that he found in the Prophet's document details about a pact made between the *Muhājir* and *Ansār*, which includes the condition that they shall not leave anyone unaided in blood money or redemption affairs."

The reporters of this narration are trustworthy except for 'Abbās bin Walid bin Farid.⁹² He is however a truthful narrator, but it stops at Zuhri and, and is too short. Probably the reason is that Awzā'i wrote to the leader of the faithful only that part which

Tahdhib (7/152-153). But Nasa'i said that he is not strong. And Ibn Madini denied those of his *Hadith* that came through Ibn Musaiyab and Abu Hurayrah. See: *At-Taqrīb* (2/14/109).

⁸⁸ That is he took some *Ahādith* to narrate from another's book whom he never met and which he never wrote, nor did he hear from him whose reports he quoted, neither did he have his permission to quote. See *Muqaddimah* of Ibn Salāh, p. 157.

⁸⁹ Ibn Hajar said in *At-Taqrīb* (2/384): "He committed mistakes." Bukhāri took from him his notes and in a part of the recitation, so did Muslim, Abu Dāwud, Ibn Mājah and Tirmidhi. See *At-Taqrīb* (2/384). Ibn Ma'in and Abu Khaithamah, Muhammad bin Numayr, 'Ubayd bin Ya'ish and Ibn Hanbal said he is trustworthy. See *At-Tahdhib* (11/435-436). And Ibn Hibbān, see *The Kitābuth-Thiqāt* (7/651). Ibn Abu Shaybah considered him weak as did Nasa'i wavering about him as weak or very weak. See *At-Tahdhib* (11/436).

⁹⁰ See them with Hārun, pp. 109-111.

⁹¹ (1/195-197).

⁹² This was said by Ibn Hajar in *At-Taqrīb* (1/399) and *Al-Tahdhib* (5/131-133) and Ibn Abu Hātim in *Al-Jarhu wat-Ta'dil* (6/215), who added that he was reliable.

concerned him although he probably had the whole document with him, especially when Zuhri narrated it. The latter's narration comes quite close to that of Ibn Ishāq.⁹³

8. Ibn Hazm's report (546 AH): He mentioned it in his *Al-Muhalla*⁹⁴ tracing it through Ibn 'Abbās ؓ. The text said, "The Prophet ﷺ got a document prepared between the *Muhājir* and *Ansār* to the effect that they should help out each other in blood money and redemption affairs and that they should work at peace and reformation between the people.

This report has Hajjāj bin Artāt and Hakam bin Miqsam. He judged the former as abandoned and the latter as weak.

One of the researchers has concluded, after reporting all the versions, that they are all weak and hence cannot be used for scholarly purposes, except for what is confirmed through traditions in words or meaning.⁹⁵ Another researcher's emphasis has been on the chain of narrators.⁹⁶ He concludes that Ibn Hishām's report through Ibn Ishāq is weak for the reasons of Sālih occurring in the chain. One of Ibn Abu Khaythamah's narration is also weak because of Kathir bin 'Abdullah. He was in fact accused of lying, but such an accusation is not weighty, in view of Bukhārī giving a green signal to him. He reported through him in books other than his *Sahih*. Tirmidhi also reported through him and gave him the trustworthy status. Abu Dāwud reported through him without making a comment. Yahya bin Sa'eed Ansāri, Hākim, Ibn Khuzaymah, Fasawi and others have also reported through him. In view of this fact, we can say that Ibn Abu Khaythamah's report is not entirely untrustworthy.

In truth Ibn Abu Khaythamah did not depend entirely on Kathir. Bayhaqi has a report following another chain, though only a piece of the document.

⁹³ See in this connection *Bayānūl-Haqqah* by Daydān Yāmi, p. 33.

⁹⁴ (12/407-408/The Book of 'Al-Awāqil, wal-Qasāmah, wa Qatlu Ahlil-Baghi, ruling no. 2143).

⁹⁵ See Daydān Yāmi: *Bayānūl-Haqqah*, pp. 35-39.

⁹⁶ See Hārun: *Sahifatul-Madinah*, p. 132.

The report is not altogether Contradicting (*Shādhah*) since there is nothing in it that contradicts trustworthy reports. Nor is it unique because of the multiplicity of its chains of narration. Bayhaqi has the Connected (*Muttasil*) line of narrators while Ibn Ishāq and Zuhri have Disconnected (*Mursal*) ones.

One might then conclude with the above in view that the reports are not entirely untrustworthy, although perhaps not wholly trustworthy either.

Dr. 'Umari arrived at the following conclusion. He said, "Although the document cannot be trusted for legal purposes, except for what of it has been reported in trustworthy narrations, it can be used for historical purposes. After all, historical accounts do not demand very strict standards of criticism, especially when the document has been reported by so many, one strengthening the other." He also said in a footnote, "As a whole the report is not entirely untrustworthy."

(iii) The Document's Date

One of the researchers has concluded that in fact there were two documents,⁹⁷ which the historians have combined together. One of them deals with the Jews and the other sets down the duties of the *Muhājir* and *Ansār* toward each other. The Jewish document was written down before Badr and the other after Badr.

As for those textual portions that give us to believe that the document was made only after the killing of Ka'b bin Ashraf, it can be assumed that this could be the second ratification of the original treaty written earlier. The Qur'ān too supports the idea that there were several treaties between the Prophet ﷺ and the Jews.⁹⁸ It said,

﴿الَّذِينَ عَاهَدْتَ مِنْهُمْ ثُمَّ يَنْقُضُونَ عَهْدَهُمْ فِي كُلِّ مَرَّةٍ وَهُمْ لَا يَتَّقُونَ﴾

"Those you have made treaties with, but every time they break

⁹⁷ *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*, p. 111-117.

⁹⁸ See *Sahifatul-Madinah*, p. 154, *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*, p. 114.

their treaties and they fear not.”⁹⁹

This Verse seems also to be pointing to the fact that there were several treaties, as understood by the commentators.¹⁰⁰

(iv) Textual Evidences in *Sunnah* and Historical Works

One of the researchers has spent a good amount of effort to trace the evidences.¹⁰¹ One of them has already been mentioned above, viz., Imam Ahmad’s report that has been declared authentic by Muhammad Shākir as well as Shaykh Banna’. We might also cite Muslim’s¹⁰² report which says that the Prophet ﷺ had allocated the blood money responsibility on every tribe and had also declared that it was not allowed for any Muslim to take on himself the custody of another Muslim’s freed slave without his permission.

Abu Dāwud¹⁰³ and Bayhaqi¹⁰⁴ have reported that after the killing of Ka’b bin Ashraf the Jews came to the Prophet ﷺ to discuss the issue. The Prophet ﷺ responded by inviting them to enter into a general treaty between themselves and the Muslims.

Khattābi¹⁰⁵ has reported that Ka’b bin Ashraf had entered into an agreement with him to the effect that he would not aid anyone against him and will not declare a fight against him. But he went to Makkah for that specific purpose and returning to Madinah engaged himself in hostile activities against the Prophet ﷺ. Therefore, the Muslims had to do away with him.

Bukhārī¹⁰⁶ has reported the Prophet’s words: “Believers are equal in blood and they are one party against all others, the lowest of them standing up in defense of the rest, and a believer shall not be

⁹⁹ Surat Al-Anfāl: 56.

¹⁰⁰ Jawzi said this in *Zādul-Masir* (3/372).

¹⁰¹ See Hārūn: *Sahifatul-Madinah*, pp. 133-155.

¹⁰² (2/1146/H. 1507).

¹⁰³ See *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (3/401-402/H. 3000).

¹⁰⁴ *As-Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/183) through a *Hasan* chain since none of the narrators was termed weak as Hārūn’s research shows.

¹⁰⁵ *Muslimus-Sunan* (2/338) with a reliable source as said Hārūn, p. 148.

¹⁰⁶ *Al-Fath* (12/137/H. 3046).

killed nor anyone of a treaty.” Nasa’i has a report in similar words.¹⁰⁷

Ibn Mājah¹⁰⁸ reports the Prophet’s words, “A believer shall not be killed in retaliation of a disbeliever.” Another version adds the words, “Nor should a (criminal) person be covered by a treaty.”¹⁰⁹

These bits and pieces confirm that there was a treaty between the *Muhājir* and the *Ansār* as they also confirm the clauses covering blood money.

One of the researchers has presented eight¹¹⁰ *Ahādith* that corroborate the treaties as having taken place between various parties: *Muhājir*, *Ansār* and Jews. Three of them are in Ahmad, one each in *Musannaf* of ‘Abdur-Razzāq, Abu Dāwud, Khattābi’s *Mu’ālimus-Sunan* and two in Bayhaqi’s *As-Sunan Al-Kubra*. All of them are either *Sahih* of status or *Hasan*, except for ‘Abdur-Razzāq’s report which is a Disconnected one (*Mursal*).

Historians have also identified pieces of the treaties in their works. Tabari¹¹¹ for instance has mentioned the blood money clauses. Ibn Sa’d¹¹² has spoken of blood money between the believers, that no one in debt should be left unaided, and that a believer should not be killed in retaliation of a disbeliever. ‘Abdur-Razzāq San’āni¹¹³ has, tracing his report to Zuhri, reported that blood money was the responsibility of the tribe and that this report reached them from the Prophet ﷺ as found in the document between the Quraysh and *Ansār*. It said, “Don’t leave anyone

¹⁰⁷ *Sunan An-Nasa’i* (8/20). In his chain there are two reliable narrators — Muhammad bin Abdul-Wāhid, and Abu Hassān. And the report has supporting evidences in the *Sahihayn*, therefore it is *Sahih li Ghayrihi* as said Hārūn, (p. 167).

¹⁰⁸ See *Sahih Sunan Ibn Mājah* — Albāni (2/101/H. 2659) who called it *Hasan-Sahih*.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, H. 2660, and Albāni said it is *Sahih*.

¹¹⁰ Hārūn: *Sahifatul-Madinah*, pp. 133-155, 215.

¹¹¹ See *Tārikh* of Tabari (2/486) without chain, so it is weak.

¹¹² *At-Tabaqāt*, part 1, section 2, p. 172. Leyden print.

¹¹³ *Al-Musannaf* (9/273, 274) through a *Hasan* chain, but it is *Mursal*. Verified by Habibur-Rahmān A’zami.

burdened except that he should be released of captivity or payment of blood money. Muqrizi¹¹⁴ has said that the Prophet ﷺ got written a treaty with the Jewish tribes Banu Qaynuqa', Banu Nadir and Banu Qurayzah. Ibn Hazm¹¹⁵ has said that the Prophet ﷺ made treaties with the Jews and Diyār Bakri.¹¹⁶ He added that he allowed them to follow their religion, promising them the safety of their life and property, while making it conditional that they would not help anyone against him and if someone surprised him with an attack they should be on the Prophet's side.

Ibn Marduwayh¹¹⁷ reported while speaking of the Banu Nadir, "He arranged his forces early in the morning and laid siege to them. Then he proceeded to the Banu Qurayzah and besieging them also. They renewed their pledge. So he left them and went back to Banu Nadir and besieged them until they agreed to leave Madinah..."

This report is very clear about the Prophet's treaties with the Banu Qurayzah which was, as the above report suggests, a renewal of the previous one.

Hārūn¹¹⁸ has traced several portions that fall here and there in the *Sahih* books of *Ahādith* (traditions). As for Qur'ānic Verses, he mentioned some twenty-seven Verses that corroborate bits and pieces in *Sahih* works.

In short, the entire contents of the document is corroborated either by the Qur'ān or the *Hadith*. If not for the fear of volume, we would have mentioned a few more. May Allāh reward Hārūn well.

As regards those clauses of the treaties that speak of peace with the pagans and Jews – without any tribute payable by them – those clauses were abrogated by the Qur'ān. It said,

¹¹⁴ See *Imta'ul-Asma'* (1/49) without a chain, so it is weak.

¹¹⁵ See *Jawāmi'us-Sirah*, p. 95, without a chain.

¹¹⁶ See *Tārikhul-Khamis fi Ahwālī Anfus Nafis* (1/353).

¹¹⁷ It was mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/202 in ch. *Maghāzī*) and remarked that its chain is trustworthy. It was also recorded by 'Abdur-Razzāq in *Musannaf* (5/359-360); Abu Dāwūd in his *Sunan*, and Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/198).

¹¹⁸ *Sahifatul-Madinah*, pp. 156-214.

﴿قَاتِلُوا الَّذِينَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَلَا بِالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَلَا يُحَرِّمُونَ مَا حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَلَا يَدِينُونَ دِينَ الْحَقِّ مِنَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ حَتَّى يُعْطُوا الْجِزْيَةَ عَنْ يَدٍ وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ﴾

"Fight those who do not believe in Allāh nor in the Judgement Day and do not declare unlawful what Allāh and His Messenger declared unlawful, refusing to accept the true religion – until they pay tribute with their hands, humbled."¹¹⁹

This was revealed in the 9th year after *Hijrah*.¹²⁰ It is accepted by all that *Surat Al-Tawbah* is the last chapter to be revealed as stated by Bukhārī.¹²¹

Lessons

- This document is considered to be one of the most ancient written constitutions.
- Scholars have not mentioned that any of the clauses were abrogated except for the peace treaties with the pagans and Jews without tribute. That was abrogated by the Verse of *Surat Al-Tawbah* mentioned above.
- Some scholars have said that the several treaties with the Jews corroborate with a Qur'ānic Verse which says,

﴿لَا يَنْهَكُمُ اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يُقَاتِلُوكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَلَمْ يُخْرِجُوكُمْ مِنْ دِيَارِكُمْ أَنْ تَبَرُّوهُمْ وَتُقْسِطُوا إِلَيْهِمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ﴾

"Allāh does not prevent you against those who do not fight against you in your religion and did not banish you from your homes, that you should be good and virtuous towards them and deal with them in justice. Surely, Allāh approves of the just."¹²²

¹¹⁹ *Surat At-Tawbah*: 29.

¹²⁰ See Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (4/74).

¹²¹ *Al-Fath* (17/195/H. 4654).

¹²² *Surat Al-Mumtahanah*: 8.

- (d) The document touches on several aspects of life.
- (e) It has the foundation principles for various clauses of a constitution:
- 1) The establishment of a community on the basis of faith to enfold every Muslim, wherever he might be.
 - 2) The establishment of a nation that includes as its citizens non-Muslims.
 - 3) Equality in common affairs.
 - 4) Preventing the sheltering of criminals.
 - 5) Preventing the Muslims from going out (in military excursions) without the Prophet's permission.
 - 6) Prevention of oppression involving life, property and honor.
 - 7) Preventing peace-treaties struck between individuals.
 - 8) Preventing sheltering of the Quraysh, in other words, prevention of shelter unto the enemy.
 - 9) Blood money from the murderer, thus guarantying sanctity of life.
 - 10) Sharing the costs of war declared on the community or nation.
 - 11) Ransoming of prisoners.
 - 12) Unburdening debtors of their debts.
 - 13) Retaining that part of the old order, which was based on goodness and virtue.
 - 14) The right to follow one's religion and faith.
 - 15) Guarantying the rights of a neighbor.
 - 16) The value of a Muslim's blood, stated in the rule: A Muslim may not be killed for a disbeliever.
 - 17) Declaring Madinah as a consecrated city.
 - 18) Preventing anyone of the town from giving the rights of consecration to others without the consent of the citizens of Madinah.
 - 19) Declaring Allāh and His Messenger as the arbitrating authorities in case of differences.

A few other clauses of constitution can also be worked out from the above document. In fact, the above points allow for further expansion of Islamic rulings. And, except for those clauses that apply especially to Muslims,¹²³ the above principles are found in every constitution including those written by humans¹²⁴ (that is, those not based on revelation).

Nonetheless, despite the above generosity and comprehensive attitude in dealing with the Jews, they betrayed the Muslims and responded with machinations against Islam in a variety of ways, as we shall see when we unfold the rest of their account. One of the frontiers that they opened, and to which the historians paid scant attention, is that of polemics, hoping to frustrate the expansion of the new message and prevent people from Allāh's path. That was done without the intention to embrace Islam even if its several aspects proved satisfactory. The Qur'ān recorded their polemics. Those who played the leading role were: Rāfi' bin Huraymilah, Sallām bin Mishkam, Nu'mān bin Awfa, Mahmud bin Dihyah, Shās bin Qays, Mālik bin Sayf, Jabal bin Abu Qushayr, Shamwil, Nu'mān Ahna', Bahri bin 'Amr, Shāsh bin 'Adi, Rāfi' bin Harithah, Nahām bin Zayd, Kurdam bin Ka'b, and others.¹²⁵

¹²³ The allusion is to the following entries above: 1, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, and they have no examples in any community in the world.

¹²⁴ The points we have mentioned are from Hārūn: *Sahifatul-Madinah*, 325-326. See also Zāfir Qāsmi: *Nizāmul-Hukm fīsh-Shari'ati wat-Tārikh*, p. 31 onwards, Beirut print.

¹²⁵ See for examples of their quarrels mentioned by Shaykh Jazā'iri, pp. 196-198.

Before Badr

Various Events

Naming Yathrib as Taybah, Tābah and Al-Madinah

In the documents discussed above, Madinah had been mentioned as Yathrib. But, the Prophet ﷺ didn't like the name and subsequently got it changed to Taybah, Tābah and Al-Madinah. Muslim has reported that the Prophet ﷺ said, "Allāh has named Madinah as Tābah." Muslim also reports his words, "It is Taybah, meaning Madinah. It expels filth as fire (separates and) throws out dirt from the silver."¹ Tayālisi² has also reported, "They used to call the city Yathrib until the Prophet ﷺ named it Taybah."

Ibn Hajar³ has reported through Abu Sahl bin Mālik, through Ka'b Aḥbār who said, "We find in Allāh's Book that He revealed to Musa that Allāh called it Taybah and Tābah." Some narrations have reported a different name such as Al-Madinah. Bukhārī⁴ reported through Abu Hurayrah ؓ that "angels are on Madinah's borders

¹ See *Sahih Muslim* (2/1007/H. 1385). This *Hadith* was also reported by Ibn Shabbah in *Tārikhul-Madinah* (1/164).

² See his *Musnad* (2/204).

³ See *Al-Fath* (8/218).

⁴ *Al-Fath* (27/121/H. 7133).

not letting in plague and Dajjāl." Ahmad has another report.⁵ It says, "Whoever called the city Yathrib may seek Allāh's forgiveness. It is Tābah, it is Tābah." Suyutī⁶ has Ibn 'Abbās ؓ saying that the Prophet ﷺ said, "Don't call it Yathrib for it is Taybah, iae., Madinah. Whoever said Yathrib may seek Allāh's forgiveness thrice. It is Taybah, Taybah, Taybah."

Bukhārī⁷ has Abu Humayd saying, "When we were returning from Tabuk and the city of Madinah came into sight, the Prophet ﷺ remarked, "This is Tābah." Ibn Shabbah⁸ has reported Abu Ayyub that Madinah may not be referred to as Yathrib. Muslim⁹ has Abu Hurayrah's report that the Prophet ﷺ said, "I am commanded to seek the town that will eat away the (surrounding) villages. It is called Yathrib, but it is Madinah. It expels the (wrong) people as a melting pot removes off the scum from iron." The Qur'ān called it Madinah in several places.¹⁰ Ibn Hajar¹¹ has speculated about why

⁵ See *Al-Musnad* (4/285) where the *Hadith* is attributed to Bara' bin 'Āzib. The narrators therein are men that have been relied on except for Yazid bin Abu Ziyād who was weak, as stated in *At-Taqrīb* (3/365) and *At-Tahdhīb*. However, it is strengthened by other corroborative material. Ibn Hajar also mentioned it in *Al-Fath* (18/216), as was also reported by Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (3/300) who ascribed it to Abu Ya'la and that its narrators are trustworthy. Ibn Shabbah narrated through three chains in *Tārikhul-Madinah* (1/164-165). First of them is Disconnected (*Mursal*) in which is Yazid bin Abu Ziyād, second is Traceable (*Marfu'*) in chain, but once again we have Yazid bin Abu Ziyād in it, and third is also *Marfu'* whose narrators are trustworthy but for Ibn Abu Yahya—Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad Aslami but he was abandoned as stated in *At-Taqrīb*. Thus the *Hadith* is quite weak.

⁶ *Ad-Durr Al-Manthur* (5/188), who ascribed it to Ibn Marduwayh.

⁷ *Al-Fath* (8/218/H. 1872), it was also reported by Ibn Shabbah in *Tārikhul-Madinah* (1/164).

⁸ *Tārikhul-Madinah* (1/165) with a weak chain, because it includes Ibn Abu Yahya—Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad Aslami who was abandoned as stated in *At-Taqrīb*. Thus his *Hadith* is very weak. But there are supportive reports through which it gathers strength.

⁹ *Sahih Muslim* (2/1006/H. 1382).

¹⁰ Other examples are: *Surat Al-Munāfiqun*: 8, *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 60, *Surat At-Tawbah*: 101, 120. It has been the topic at several places in the Noble Qur'ān.

¹¹ *Al-Fath* (8/216/The Book of *Fadā'ilul-Madinah*).

the town may not be called Yathrib because either Yathrib has its linguistic root in *Yathrib* which means 'reproach' or in *Ath-Tharb* which means 'corruption.' Both of them do not sound good. The Prophet ﷺ approved of good names and disapproved of evil sounding ones.

Illnesses that struck Some of the *Mubājir*

Some of the Companions faced illnesses upon arrival at Madinah. They were struck by the Yathrib¹² fever until some of them were offering prayers from the sitting position. Allāh (ﷻ) preserved the Prophet ﷺ from it.¹³ However, Abu Bakr and Bilāl were struck. When Abu Bakr ؓ was feverish he would sing out the lines,

*"Everyone wakes up among his people
While death is nearer to him than his shoe-lace."*

When Bilāl ؓ was sick he would raise his voice and say:

*"Shall I ever again spend a night at Fakh
With sweet herbs and thyme around me?
With the dawn when I come down to the waters of Majanna
Shall I ever see Shāmah and Tafil again?"*

(Translation based on A. Guillaume's)

'Āishah ؓ reported to the Prophet ﷺ what the two were saying. He said, "O Allāh, endear to us Madinah the way You endeared us Makkah, or more. Make it healthier and bless its weights and measures. Transfer its fever to Juhfah."¹⁴

¹² Part of a narration in Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/31-32). Sā'āti said: "Haythami recorded it in its fuller form pointing out that Ahmad and Bazzār have reported it with. He also said that Ahmad's narrators are trustworthy except for Hārithah bin Mudarrib, and he too was reliable."

¹³ Ahmad: *Musnad* (3/136); Ibn Ishāq through a chain that does not declare personal hearing of the report—Ibn Hishām (2/274); Ibn Mājah (1/388/H. 1229-1231) through Ibn Ishāq. The judgment in *Zawā'id* is, "Its chain is reliable."

¹⁴ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/121-122/H. 3926). Ibn Hajar said in explanation, "In

'Āishah رضي الله عنها¹⁵ herself fell ill along with Ibn Fuhayrah¹⁶ as well as others. Yathrib was famous for its fever so that when the Muslims went to Makkah for 'Umrah, the pagans said about them, "A people are to enter who have been weakened by the Yathrib fever." That was the reason why the Prophet ﷺ ordered the Muslims to walk straight, and throw out their chests to demonstrate their strength and show the pagans that fever had not weakened them as much as they imagined.¹⁷ Allāh ﷻ answered the Prophet's prayer and converted the town into one of the best ones.

Quraysh threaten the *Mubājir* and the *Ansār*

'Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul was the most prominent of chiefs of Madinah. Just before the Prophet ﷺ arrived, the Madinans had decided on crowning him king and prepared a crown of pearls for that function. But, with the Prophet's arrival, that didn't happen. So the man delayed to announce his allegiance to Islam. He felt that the Prophet ﷺ had deprived him of his crown. Therefore, even after he officially announced his Islam, he bore grudge for the Prophet ﷺ. The strategy that he employed to conceal his enmity was hypocrisy. Several incidents lend credence to the theory as the following shows.

One such incident is the report in *Al-Bukhārī*,¹⁸ *Muslim*¹⁹ and *Musnad Ahmad*,²⁰ coming through Sa'd bin 'Ubādah. He told the

a valley" i.e., Makkah. See *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/13-14). Shāmah and Tafil are two mountains near Makkah. Some say two springs. This *Hadith* was reported by Ibn Ishāq with a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (2/271-273).

¹⁵ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/114/H. 3918).

¹⁶ Ibn Ishāq mentioned this; being a *Hadith* of 'Āishah رضي الله عنها through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (2/271), and Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/13)—a *Hadith* by 'Āishah about which Sā'ātī said, "Accepted by the *Shaykhayn*."

¹⁷ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/96/H. 4256, 4257). We have pointed out that Bilāl رضي الله عنه prayed against Shaybah, 'Utbah and Abu Jahl, for they chased them out to the land of diseases.

¹⁸ *Al-Fath* (17/92-94/H. 4566).

¹⁹ *Muslim* (3/1422-1423/H. 1798).

²⁰ *Al-Musnad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/19-20) through a reliable chain.

Prophet ﷺ, "O Messenger of Allāh. Forgive him and excuse him. By Him who revealed the Book to you—surely Allāh has sent the truth with you—the people of this town had unanimously agreed to crown him king. But when Allāh disapproved of it by sending the revelation upon you, he felt defeated and, consequently you see him behaving the way he does."

According to Ibn Ishāq,²¹ Sa'd said, "O Messenger of Allāh. Be indulgent of him. By Allāh, Allāh has brought you to us while we were making arrangements to crown him king. He feels that you have deprived him of his kingship."

The Makkans found their own image in the person of Ibn Salul. He was in truth on their religion. They wrote to him to plan things and prepare himself to play his role against the Prophet ﷺ and his men, as they had played their role in Makkah. They wrote to him, "You have given refuge to our man. We swear by God that either you fight him, expel him or we shall come down on you to capture your women."

Ibn Ubaiy began to act to orders. He gathered the disbelievers of Madinah to coax them for a fight against the Prophet ﷺ. When the Prophet ﷺ learnt of it, he went forth and addressed them in the following words, "Quraysh threats seem to have had greater effects on you than they should. But the fact is, they intend to do greater mischief to you than you realize. They wish you to fight against your own sons and brothers." With those words they dispersed.²²

The Quraysh also wrote to the Muslims, "Don't be under the impression that you have found a safe sanctuary in Madinah. We will come down there, uproot and destroy you right in the middle of your dwellings."²³

The Quraysh threats forced the Muslims to stand guard over the Prophet ﷺ until Allāh ﷻ revealed,

²¹ Ibn Hishām (2/270-271) through a *Hasan* chain.

²² *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (3/404-407/H. 3004) with a *Sahih* chain.

²³ See Mansurpuri: *Rahmatul-lil 'Ālamin* (1/109). We could not however lay our hands on Mubārakpuri's source.

﴿وَاللَّهُ يَعْصُمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ﴾

"Allāh will guard you against the people."²⁴

When that was revealed he addressed them, "People. Go away. Allāh has promised to guard me,"²⁵ although he had earlier, in fear of his life, asked Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās to stand guard over him.²⁶

It was not only the Prophet ﷺ who was in danger. It extended to his Companions. Ubaiy bin Ka'b said, "When the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions arrived at Madinah and the *Ansār* sheltered them, the Arabs became one body against them. Those days the Muslims slept with arms under their pillows, carrying them around during the day."²⁷

One of the ways in which the Quraysh demonstrated their seriousness was to prevent the *Ansār* from visiting the Holy Mosque at Makkah. We have before us the incident involving Sa'd bin Mu'ādh and Abu Jahl. Here is in brief the story from Bukhari: Sa'd b. Mu'ādh went to Makkah to visit the House. He asked his host Umaiya bin Khalaf to stand watch while he circumambulated the House. Umaiya took him to the House at noontime hoping to encounter none of the Quraysh. But, as it should happen, Abu Jahl passed by. He asked Umaiya about the man in his company and Umaiya informed him who he was. Abu Jahl taunted Sa'd, "Will you go around the Holy House in peace despite having given shelter to Muhammad and his Companions?" Sa'd replied, "By Allāh, if you prevent me from circumambulating the House, I shall cut your trade route to Shām." He also promised him that the Prophet ﷺ would kill him. And, truly, Abu Jahl was killed at Badr.²⁸

²⁴ Surat Al-Mā'idah: 67.

²⁵ Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi (3/46/H. 3250), Albāni said it is Hasan.

²⁶ Muslim (4/1875/H. 2410), Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath (12/35/H. 2885).

²⁷ This was mentioned by Mubārakpuri in *Ar-Rahiq Al-Makhtum*, p. 217. He did not mention the source, nor could we locate it.

²⁸ Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath (14/126/H. 3632).

Military and Political Activities

Permission to retaliate

Ibn Jarir²⁹ has reported Ibn 'Abbās ؓ as having said, "When the Prophet ﷺ left Makkah, Abu Bakr remarked, 'They have expelled their Messenger. That's not good. They will be destroyed,' and Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿أُذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَاتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمْ ظَلِمُوا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ نَصْرِهِمْ لَقَدِيرٌ﴾

"Permitted (to retaliate) are those who are attacked. That is because they have been wronged. And, surely, Allāh is able to help them."³⁰

When Abu Bakr heard of the Verse he remarked, 'I knew that there would be fights.'" Ahmad has added³¹ another sentence of Ibn 'Abbās, "This was the first Verse allowing Muslims to fight." 'Awfi has said that this Verse was revealed when the disbelievers expelled the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions from Makkah.³²

Obviously, *Jihād* was instituted at the appropriate time. In Makkah Muslims were very small in numbers in comparison to the non-Muslims. But when the Muslims had begun to settle in Madinah—after their forced migration, earlier to Abyssinia and later to Madinah, and when they found a shelter in Madinah, Allāh (ﷻ) allowed that *Jihād* be launched.³³ Nonetheless, fighting was still

²⁹ Tafsir At-Tabari (17/123) and Tafsir Ibn Kathir (5/430-431).

³⁰ Surat Al-Hajj: 39.

³¹ Al-Musnad (3/262/Shākir). Shākir declared the chain trustworthy. Also reported by Tirmidhi: Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi (3/179/H. 2535) where Albāni said it is Hasan.

³² See Tafsir Al-Tabari (17/122-123), and Tafsir Ibn Kathir (5/350-431).

³³ See Tafsir Ibn Kathir (5/431-432). Zuhri said: "The first Verse to be revealed in connection with retaliation was—as 'Urwah told me on the authority of 'Aishah ؓ: "Permission (to retaliate) is granted to those who are fought against." Recorded by Nasa'i (6/4) through a reliable chain as said Ibn Hajar in Al-Fath (15/142). Others also documented it. See *Siratush-Shāmiyah* (4/12).

not mandatory. Only retaliation was sanctioned if the Muslims were attacked. Subsequently, it was declared an obligation by the Verse,

﴿وَقَاتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ الَّذِينَ يُقَاتِلُونَكُمْ﴾

"And fight in Allāh's path those who fight you."³⁴

Subsequently, war against all the pagans was made mandatory with the words,

﴿وَقَاتِلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ كَافَّةً كَمَا يُقَاتِلُونَكُمْ كَافَّةً﴾

"And fight all of the pagans as they all fight against you."³⁵

Thus, the commandments pertaining to *Jihād* were revealed in four stages:

- (a) The stage of forbearance: no retaliation.
- (b) The stage in which retaliation was allowed. This happened after *Hijrah*.
- (c) The stage in which they were allowed to begin a battle against those who had already declared war against them.
- (d) The stage in which they were required to wage a war against all the pagans.³⁶

³⁴ Surat Al-Baqarah: 190.

³⁵ Surat Al-Tawbah: 36.

³⁶ See *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/71) and Sayyid Qutb: *Fi Zilālul-Qur'ān* (3/1431-1432) Sayyid Qutb has some very important notes to offer on these stages that Ibn Qaiyim had discussed. With regard to the techniques and approach that have to be adopted by Islamic movements, there are some original and important characteristics that have been laid down by him. The very first and foremost characteristic is that it deals with the real situation prevailing in real life with realism. He writes, "... This then is a movement which faces a real human situation ... which faces real situations with means that match the problems ... It confronts the (modern) *Jāhiliyyah* of beliefs and ideas: those upon which rest the new, real, practical systems that support the material power. Islamic movement confronts this new reality with everything that can stand up against it ... It confronts it with invitation, and explanations that endeavor to correct the beliefs and ideas

Military Excursions³⁷ and Other Events before Badr

(I) Objectives of the Military Excursions

When Allāh (ﷻ) allowed the Muslims to retaliate force with force, they began to prepare themselves to face the Quraysh and others who had shown all readiness to attack. When the Quraysh wished to show Muslims that they could reach at them in Madinah, the Muslims gave them to believe that they were not as weak as they had imagined. They impressed on them that they were in a position to reply to force with force, and put them under economic and political siege in order to get back the wealth and properties that the Quraysh had seized from them when they had migrated.

To translate the above into action, the Muslims first decided to monitor the trade routes running around them in all directions. The Prophet ﷺ adopted two parallel strategies. First, he sent scouts to patrol around to harass the passing Quraysh trade caravans. Second, he prevented the Quraysh from entering into any defense or offense pacts with the tribes around Madinah. He won over to his side the tribes of Banu Damrah, Juhaynah, Khuzā'ah, Ghifār and Aslam. We shall have more to say about them a little later. The Prophet ﷺ however did not stop there. He went on expanding his area of influence, as later events will show.

All the military expeditions that he organized those days achieved their objectives, especially in weakening the Quraysh and her allies. He also administered blows to their trade, means of political influences, and military preparations. Muslim effectiveness to retaliate whenever necessary was well demonstrated. Obviously,

as it also uses power and force to weaken the systems upon which rest the powers those powers that come in between the masses on the one hand, and, on the other, the correction in beliefs, opinions and ideas; those powers that humbles the masses through terror and misguidance and lead them to worship other than their Magnificent Lord..."

³⁷ The historian gave the nomenclature *Sariyah* to a small Muslim military force led by a leader, while they used *Ghazwah* for a fighting force led by the Prophet ﷺ.

it was also a means to increase the fighting experience of the believers, practicing maneuvers, measuring the strength of the opposing forces, and understanding the routes among the surrounding vales, gorges and plain deserts.

(II) Military Expeditions

(a) Expedition called Sifil-Bahr

This was launched under the leadership of Hamzah bin 'Abdul-Muttalib. The force was thirty-men strong. They were to intercept the Quraysh caravan returning from Shām. The caravan numbered 300 including men such as Abu Jahl. When the two forces met and a battle was about to ensue, Mijdi bin 'Amr Juhani intervened and the clash was avoided. This was in Ramadān, in the seventh month after Hijrah.³⁸

This should tell us something about the usefulness of the treaty that the Prophet ﷺ had worked out with one of the Juhaynah tribes early after his arrival at Madinah. What strengthens this is the report in Ahmad³⁹ through Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās which says, "When the Prophet ﷺ arrived at Madinah, a Juhaynah delegation arrived and said, 'You have stepped down here amongst us. We want to be sure that you will not be hostile to us.' So the Prophet ﷺ drew a treaty and they began to embrace Islam."

History has preserved some details of other treaties that the

³⁸ Wāqidi (1/9), Ibn Sa'd (2/6), Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (2/281)—all without a chain. Ibn Sa'd said (2/6): "The Prophet ﷺ did not send anyone of the *Ansār* (to a battle) until the battle of Badr. That is because the condition to which the *Ansār* had agreed was they would protect him within the boundaries of Madinah."

³⁹ *Al-Musnad* (3/70/Shākir). Shākir said its chain is weak because of its discontinuity. Bayhaqi however documented a similar *Hadith* in *Ad-Dalā'il* (3/15) which has a Complete (*Mausul*) chain. That narration does not speak of the arrival of Juhaynah. Ibn Kathir said about it in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/272), "This sounds more correct."

Prophet ﷺ entered into with the tribes of Juhaynah. One of them is in Ibn Sa'd.⁴⁰ It says that the Prophet ﷺ wrote down a document for Banu Zur'ah and Banu Dub'ah of Juhaynah. It was to the effect that they and their properties shall be safe from Muslim attack and that they shall receive help if attacked, unless the fight (between them and their adversaries) was of religious nature. Further, the document promised that it would extend to those of the desert-dwellers around them who were upright. The political nature of the above treaty should be apparent from the exclusion of conflicts of religious nature.⁴¹

As for the pact he got written for Banu Huraqah and Banu Jurmuz of the Juhaynah tribes, which bore the name of 'Amr bin Ma'bad Juhani, it stressed religious obligations as a condition for peace. It also speaks of the division of war booty, the Prophet's share in it, unlawfulness of interest on loans,⁴² and other such clauses that lead us to believe that it was written after Badr, for rules pertaining to state share in war booty (*Khumus*) were revealed after Badr when the Muslims had grown strong, had defeated the Quraysh and were somewhat free to impose Islamic power over Arabia.⁴³ As we know, usury was disallowed in stages. During Makkan stay, it was revealed in this connection,

﴿وَمَا آتَيْتُمْ مِّن رَّبٍّ لَّيْرَبُوا فِي أَمْوَالِ النَّاسِ فَلَا يَرْبُوا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَمَا آتَيْتُمْ مِّن زَكَاةٍ تُرِيدُونَ وَجْهَ اللَّهِ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُضْعِفُونَ﴾

"And whatever you give for usury to increase within wealth of the people will not increase with Allāh. But what you give in Zakat, desiring the countenance of Allāh those are the multipliers."⁴⁴

Then in Madinan period it was added,

⁴⁰ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/270)—without a chain.

⁴¹ See: *Diplomasiyyatu Muhammad*, p. 43.

⁴² *At-Tabaqāt* (1/271-272), without chain.

⁴³ *Diplomasiyyatu Muhammad* ﷺ, pp. 43-44.

⁴⁴ *Surat Ar-Rum*: 39.

﴿يَتَأْتِيهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا لَا تَأْكُلُوا الرِّبَا أَضْعَافًا مُّضَاعَفَةً وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ﴾

"Believers, do not consume usury, doubled and multiplied, but fear Allāh that you may be successful."⁴⁵

Finally, the last of the messages in this regard came which said,

﴿يَتَأْتِيهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَذَرُوا مَا بَقِيَ مِنَ الرِّبَا إِن كُنْتُمْ مُّؤْمِنِينَ﴾
(٢٧٨) فَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلُوا فَأْذَنُوا بِحَرْبٍ مِّنَ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَإِن تُبْتِمْ فَلَكُمْ رُءُوسُ
أَمْوَالِكُمْ لَا تَظْلِمُونَ وَلَا تُظْلَمُونَ﴾

"Believers! Fear Allāh and give up (claims to) outstanding interest if you are (true) believers. But if you do not, then take notice of war from Allāh and His Messenger. However, if you repent then you may have your principal, (so that) neither you wrong (others) nor are wronged (by them)."⁴⁶

Similarly, the Prophet ﷺ wrote down two pacts, one for 'Awsajah bin Harmalah Juhani and the other for Banu Shankh of the Juhaynah tribe, promising both the safety of places and routes around their dwellings. The two pacts speak of nothing else except safety of passage.⁴⁷

(b) Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās's Expedition to Kharrār⁴⁸

Wāqidi⁴⁹ has preserved a report coming through Sa'd to whom the Prophet ﷺ said, "'Go forth Sa'd until Kharrār. A Quraysh caravan is about to pass by that place.' Accordingly, I marched out

⁴⁵ Surat Āl 'Imrān: 130.

⁴⁶ Surat Al-Baqarah: 278-279. See Sayyid Sābiq: *Fiḥṣ-Sunnah* (3/132-133).

⁴⁷ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/270).

⁴⁸ Of Juhfah and near Khumm, as said Wāqidi.

⁴⁹ *Al-Maghāzi* (1/11), with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain and trustworthy narrators, except Wāqidi. He is abandoned in *Hadith* despite his wide learning.

with twenty or twenty-one men.⁵⁰ We were on foot concealing ourselves during the day and marching at night. We reached the place on the fifth day only to discover that the Quraysh caravan had left a day earlier. Hadn't the Prophet ﷺ asked us not to go beyond Kharrār, I would have given them a chase."

Ibn Sa'd⁵¹ has it however that the standard bearer was Miqdād bin 'Amr and that it was in Dhul-Qa'dah, the ninth month after *Hijrah*.⁵²

(c) Expedition to Abwa' (Waddān)

The Prophet ﷺ himself participated in this expedition. It took place in Safar, eleven months after the *Hijrah* if we are to go by Wāqidi but twelve according to Ibn Sa'd. The Prophet ﷺ wished to harass another Quraysh caravan going up to Banu Damrah. He kept marching until he reached Abwa' which was the territory of Banu Damrah. He did not encounter any enemy. But he used the occasion to enter into an understanding with Banu Damrah, who were of Kinānah, that they would not attack him nor would help any of his enemies. A document was written down for their leader Mahshi bin 'Amr Damri.⁵³ This was the first time that the Prophet ﷺ had gone out in an expedition in person.⁵⁴

(d) 'Ubaydah bin Hārith's Expedition to Rābigh

The Prophet ﷺ appointed 'Ubaydah bin Hārith as the leader over some sixty riders from the *Muhājir*. He kept marching until he

⁵⁰ According to Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (2/287) their number was eight. The *Hadith* is without chain so it is weak.

⁵¹ *At-Tabaqāt* (2/7) without chain so it is weak.

⁵² *At-Tabaqāt* (2/7)—and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/11) and very weak.

⁵³ See the letter in *Ibn Sa'd* (1/275).

⁵⁴ Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (2/275), *Al-Wāqidi* (1/11-12), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/8) Musa bin 'Uqbah as stated in *Al-Fath* (15/141), through Kathir bin 'Abdullah. And the report is *Hasan* if we followed Bukhārī in granting just acceptable status (*Hasan*) to the reports of Kathir, in other than *Sahih* and with Tirmidhi's acceptance of him.

encountered a huge Quraysh battalion led by Abu Sufyān and 'Ikrimah. They faced each other across the waters of Hijāz and some skirmishes took place. Sa'd shot an arrow at them. It is said that this was the first arrow ever shot in the history of Islam. However, soon they both retreated. Two of pagan forces defected to the Muslims: Miqdād bin 'Amr and 'Utbah bin Jābir Māzini. They were Muslims but had accompanied the pagans with the intention to make it to Muslims if they could.⁵⁵ This was the major achievement of this expedition.

Differences remained among historians over the date of this expedition. Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd have it that it took place in Shawwāl, the eighth month after *Hijrah*. This should explain Miqdād bin 'Amr's presence as the head of the later Kharrār expedition. However, Ibn Ishāq gives us to understand that it took place in Rabi'ul-Awwal and after the expedition of Abwa'. He does not state though, the date of the expedition. Abul-Aswad and Ibn 'Ā'idh are sure that it took place after Abwa' and before the Prophet ﷺ could return from that expedition. Ibn Hajar⁵⁶ says, "Abul-Aswad has traced it in his *Maghāzi* through 'Urwah. And Ibn 'Ā'idh has recorded the report of Ibn 'Abbās that when the Prophet ﷺ reached Abwa' he sent 'Ubaydah bin Hārith along with sixty men. They encountered a large Quraysh battalion and a few arrows were shot. Sa'd shot the first arrow on that occasion."

If this report is reliable⁵⁷ then perhaps what Abul-Aswad and Ibn 'Ā'idh say is to be accepted. But that leaves us with the problem of Miqdād carrying the flag on the occasion of Kharrār expedition. We might say to reconcile that it could have been during another expedition and that Ibn Sa'd is not accurate.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *At-Tabaqāt* (2/7), *Al-Wāqidi* (1/10), *Ibn Ishāq—Ibn Hishām* (2/276) all of them without a chain and we know that a report that has no chain belongs to the weak class.

⁵⁶ *Al-Fath* (15/142).

⁵⁷ The final opinion over the chains of Abul-Aswad and Ibn 'Ā'idh can only be passed after knowing the whole of the string, which has not been accomplished yet.

⁵⁸ See the subheading dealing with the expedition of Sa'd to Kharrār.

(e) Buwat Expedition by the Prophet ﷺ

The Prophet ﷺ marched out with two hundred men chasing another Quraysh caravan headed by Umaiyah bin Khalaf over a hundred men and two thousand camels. He reached a place called Buwāt. This is a series of mountains in the Juhaynah territory coming down across Radwa. He did not encounter the caravan and no fighting took place. This was in Rabi'ul-Awwal, 13 months after *Hijrah*.⁵⁹

(f) Safawān Expedition (Badr-1)

When Kurz bin Jābir Fihri attacked Madinan cattle in Rabi'ul-Awwal, thirteen months after *Hijrah*, the Prophet ﷺ went out chasing him as far as the Safawān valley near Badr. However, he missed him.⁶⁰ According to Ibn Ishāq,⁶¹ this took place after the expedition called 'Ushayrah.

(g) The 'Ushayrah Expedition

The Prophet ﷺ left Madinah with a hundred and fifty to two hundred men intending to intercept a Quraysh caravan heading for Shām. He reached 'Ushayrah which was Banu Mudlij territory, coming down from Yanbu'. Nevertheless, he missed this caravan too. Later, he tried to intercept the caravan on its return journey, but he failed in that attempt and, in consequence the Badr battle took place.

In this journey he entered into treaties with Banu Mudlij and their allies of the Banu Damrah before returning to Madinah without a fight having taken place.

This was in Jumāda Ath-Thānīyah, sixteen months after *Hijrah*.⁶²

⁵⁹ *Ibn Sa'd* (2/908), *Ibn Ishāq—Ibn Hishām* (2/284), *Al-Wāqidi* (1/12), all without a chain.

⁶⁰ *Ibn Ishāq—Ibn Hishām* (2/288), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/9), *Al-Wāqidi* (1/12), all without a chain.

⁶¹ *Ibn Hishām* (2/288).

⁶² See the story in *Ibn Ishāq—Ibn Hishām* (2/284-285), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/9-10), *Al-*

Sahih compilations also mention this expedition, but do not give details.⁶³

The sources tell us, however, that the Prophet ﷺ entered into various defense treaties with the surrounding tribes in his early days at Madinah, without waiting to go out into an expedition and then working out the treaty. For example, he wrote a letter to Budayl bin Warqa', Yusr, and Sarawāt of Banu 'Amr of the Khuzā'ah, reminding them that he had remained faithful to the treaty since its making and that he was herewith reconfirming it.⁶⁴

He also wrote to Aslam of the Khuza'ah affirming the agreement of mutual help. Then there was the letter to Banu Ghifār which spoke of the agreement to defend each other if attacked by a third party. Again, he also wrote to Nu'aym bin Mas'ūd bin Rakhilah Ashja'i which mentioned the mutual defense pact and carried some admonition.⁶⁵

(h) The Nakhlah Expedition

The Prophet ﷺ sent 'Abdullah bin Jahsh long with eight of the Immigrants in Rajab, the seventeenth month after *Hijrah* with a letter which was to be opened after two days of journey. This was to keep their destination in dark. When the letter was opened after two days journey, it said that he was to go along until he reached Nakhlah between Makkah and Tā'if.⁶⁶ He was to however give his companions a choice to return if anyone so wished. All of them agreed to continue.

When they reached Nakhlah, they came across a small band of Quraysh men in which were Ibn Hadrami, 'Uthmān bin 'Abdullah

Wāqidi (1/12-13), all without a chain. *Wāqidi* has the textual difference in Dhul-'Ushayrah. But what is in the *Sahih* is more correct.

⁶³ See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/141-144/H. 3949, chapter, *Ghazwah Al-'Ushayrah*).

⁶⁴ See *Uṣḍul-Ghābah* by Ibn Athir (1/170) and *Ibn Sa'd* (1/272).

⁶⁵ See Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (1/271-274).

⁶⁶ This shows that the Muslims plan to watch Quraysh caravans was not restricted to the north, but rather it covered the south also, which had the route leading Quraysh caravans to Yemen.

bin Mughirah, his brother Nawfal, and Hakam bin Kaysān the freed slave of Hishām bin Mughirah. The Companions discussed among themselves their course of action. They were in the last day of Rajab which is one of the consecrated months. On the other hand, they felt that if they let go the opportunity, the next day the Quraysh party would enter into the safe area and they would not be able to attack them. So, finally they decided to attack. Wāqid bin 'Abdullah Tamimi shot an arrow and killed 'Amr bin Hadrami. They also managed to take 'Uthmān bin 'Abdullah bin Mughirah and Hakam bin Kaysān as prisoners. Nawfal escaped. 'Abdullah bin Jahsh and his men returned with their prisoners to the Prophet ﷺ at Madinah.

However, the Prophet ﷺ reminded them that he had not asked them to fight in the holy month. He also refused to accept the two prisoners. The participants of the expedition were also criticized by other Companions and they thought destruction had befallen them. As expected, the Quraysh spread the propaganda that Muhammad ﷺ and his men were desecrating the holy months, killing, taking prisoners and collecting booty. When the propaganda intensified, Allāh (ﷻ) revealed the Verse,

﴿يَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ الشَّهْرِ الْحَرَامِ قِتَالٍ فِيهِ قُلْ قِتَالٌ فِيهِ كَبِيرٌ وَصَدٌّ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَكُفْرٌ بِهِ وَالْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ وَإِخْرَاجُ أَهْلِهِ مِنْهُ أَكْبَرُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَالْفِتْنَةُ أَكْبَرُ مِنَ الْقَتْلِ وَلَا يَزَالُونَ يُقْتَلُونَكُمْ حَتَّى يَرُدُّوكُمْ عَنْ دِينِكُمْ إِنِ اسْتَظَعُوا وَمَنْ يَرْتَدِدْ مِنْكُمْ عَنْ دِينِهِ فَيَمُتْ وَهُوَ كَافِرٌ فَأُولَئِكَ حَبِطَتْ أَعْمَالُهُمْ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ وَأُولَئِكَ أَصْحَابُ النَّارِ هُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ ﴿٢١٧﴾ إِنَّ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَالَّذِينَ هَاجَرُوا وَجَاهَدُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أُولَئِكَ يَرْجُونَ رَحْمَتَ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ﴾

"They inquire you (O Prophet) concerning fighting in the sacred month. Tell them, 'Fighting therein is (a) grave (offense); but to bar from the way of Allāh, disbelief in Him, and in the Holy Mosque and expelling its people from it—are all (crimes of) greater (dimension) in the sight of Allāh. And persecution is worse than slaughter. (You may cease fighting them O Muslims,

but) they will never cease fighting you until they have turned you back from your religion – if they are able. But whosoever turns back from his religion, and dies in the state of disbelief, it is such whose works will go waste both in this life as well as the next. These are the people of the Fire. They shall abide in it forever. (In contrast) surely, those who believed, and those who left their homes (for strange lands) and fought in the way of Allāh, it is such who (rightly) hope to win Allāh's Mercy. And Allāh is very Forgiving, very Kind."⁶⁷

With that the expedition participants felt relieved and the Prophet ﷺ accepted the prisoners and the booty. Later, when the Quraysh sent redemption money for the two prisoners, the Prophet ﷺ delayed accepting it from fear of Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās and 'Utbah bin Ghazwān falling into Quraysh hands. They had fallen behind their companions during the same expedition in search of a camel that they had lost.⁶⁸

Lessons

1. The Verses that came down in reference to the Nakhlah expedition tell us in clear terms that fighting in the consecrated months, committed by the Muslims, was less serious with Allāh than the Quraysh expelling the Muslims from Makkah, confiscating their property and preventing them from entering into the Grand Mosque. If the pagans committed these crimes, it

⁶⁷ Surat Al-Baqarah: 217-218. The sacred months are: Dhul-Qa'dah, Dhul-Hijjah, Muharram and Rajab, as noted by Bukhārī. See *Al-Fath* (17/204-205, H. 4662).

⁶⁸ Tabarāni documented the story of this expedition as Ibn Hajar mentioned in *Al-Isābah* (2/278) with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain. Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (6/66-67): "Tabarāni recorded through a single chain which happens to be *Hasan*." Ibn Ishāq reported through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain which stopped at 'Urwah—Ibn Hishām (2/288-293). Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/274): "We have mentioned in our *Tafsir* the various supportive narrations that Ibn Ishāq used. One of them is the one that Ibn Abu Hātim reported..." See *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (1/368-369).

was rightful of Muslims to retaliate, even during the consecrated months. The Verses in question confirmed the human and spiritual values because of which fighting in the holy month was not to be started without provocation.

2. The Verses also pointed out that some people resort to the heavenly laws when it suits them to do so but overlook them when the situation is otherwise.
3. The Verses also said that there was to be no complaisance with the pagans, no matter what the short or long term consequences.
4. The Prophet's manner of keeping the expedition destination secret tells us a lot about adopting the means necessary in wars. The rest of the world was late to learn this from the Prophet ﷺ.
5. The Nakhlah incident was the first of its kind so close to Makkah, the center of pagan power. (It demonstrated their vulnerability—*Translator*). It also spoke of the readiness for sacrifice on the part of those who participated in it, none of whom returned when given the choice.⁶⁹

(j) Change in the *Qiblah*

The great majority of scholars believe that it was in the middle of Sha'bān, eighteen months after the *Hijrah*⁷⁰ that Allāh (ﷻ) commanded the Muslims to change the direction of orientation during prayers from Baytul-Maqdis to Masjid Al-Harām.⁷¹ Until then they were facing the Baytul-Maqdis in their prayers. The Prophet ﷺ himself was desirous that the *Qiblah* (prayer direction) be changed to that of Ibrāhim, praying for it fervently. Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

⁶⁹ For further information and lessons in connection with this expedition, see Abu Shahbah: *Siratun-Nabawiyyah*, (2/121-122). See also Ghazālī: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 231-232, and Shāmi: *Min Ma'inis-Sirah*, p. 184.

⁷⁰ See: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/276).

⁷¹ Documented by *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (17/23/H. 4486) and *Muslim* (1/374/H. 525).

﴿قَدْ نَرَى تَقَلُّبَ وَجْهِكَ فِي السَّمَاءِ فَلَنُوَلِّيَنَّكَ قِبْلَةً تَرْضَاهَا فَوَلِّ وَجْهَكَ شَطْرَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ. . . إِلَى قَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى: وَمَا اللَّهُ بِغَفِلٍ عَمَّا يَعْمَلُونَ﴾

"We have seen your face (O Prophet) turning (oft) towards the heavens. We will surely turn you toward the Qiblah dear to you. So turn your face (during prayers) in the direction of the Holy Mosque. And wherever you may be (O Muslims) turn your faces in its direction. Those who have been given the Book know that this is the right (command) from your Lord. And Allāh is not unaware of the things they do."⁷²

The first prayer done facing the new *Qiblah* was that of the Afternoon prayer ('Asr).⁷³ The Quba' people came to know of it only on the next day while they were in their *Fajr* prayers.⁷⁴

(k) Ramadān Fasts

Tabari⁷⁵ has noted the following as one of those events that took place in the second year after *Hijrah*. He writes, "In this year the Ramadān fasts were declared obligatory. Some say it was declared obligatory in Sha'bān of this year."

Reports in *Al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim*⁷⁶ say that when the Prophet ﷺ arrived at Madinah, he learned that the Jews fasted on the day of 'Āshura. So, he too fasted on that day urging others to follow his example. When Ramadān fasts were made obligatory, the 'Āshura fast became supererogatory.

⁷² *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 144.

⁷³ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (17/23/H. 4486).

⁷⁴ *Ibid* (17/25/H. 278) and the *Tafsir* (1/278-280); *Muslim* (1/374-375/H. 526), and Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/28).

⁷⁵ *Tārīkh* (2/417).

⁷⁶ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (17/31/H. 4503, 4504), *Muslim* (2/792-795/H. 1125-1129).

Chapter 5

The Battle of Badr

When the Prophet ﷺ learnt of Abu Sufyān leading back a trade caravan to Makkah he told the Muslims: "Here is Abu Sufyān's trade caravan carrying their wealth. Go after them. Maybe Allāh will grant it to you as booty."¹ Abu Ayyub Ansārī's narration says, "The Prophet ﷺ said while we were in Madinah, 'I have been informed² that Abu Sufyān's trade caravan is heading towards us. Would you like to go after it? Maybe Allāh will grant it to us as a booty.' We said, 'Yes.' So he marched out and we

¹ Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a Good (*Hasan*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/295). It appears to me and Allāh knows best that all the stories of Badr are, in Ibn Ishāq, through this single chain of transmitters, although he does not repeat the chain for every incident or every passage. This particular report, in this meaning, can be found in *Tafsir At-Tabari* (13/398-399) with a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain, for its narrators are sound, stopping at 'Urwah who was one of the Followers.

² He was told by Busaysah who was sent as a spy for that purpose, as reported by *Muslim* (3/1510/H. 1901). Muhammad Fuwād 'Abdul-Bāqi said in the footnote: "(Busaysah) Qādi said: This is how it has been reported in every copy. He said that what is commonly accepted in biographies is Basbas, identified as Basbas bin 'Amr. It is also said that he is Ibn Bishr, one of the *Ansār* of the Khazraj tribe. Some say they were allied to them. I (Imām Nawawi) say that it is possible that one of the two words is his name and the other nickname." Personally, I don't see why there couldn't have been an error in reporting the name. See his biography in *Al-Isābah* (2/147), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/24), through a Disconnected & Sound (*Mursal-Sahih*) report.

went with him."³

However, the Prophet ﷺ did not demand from everyone that he accompany him. Rather, he asked those whose mounts were around in the upland of Madinah to give company.⁴ Therefore, he did not question anyone who did not respond.⁵ Their number as they left was between 313 and 317 of whom⁶ 82 to 86 were of the *Muhājir* (Emigrants), 61 of the Aws and 170 of the Khazraj tribe.⁷ They had a solitary horse and seventy camels whose backs two to three men shared in turns. Abu Lubābah and 'Ali bin Abu Tālib shared a mount with the Prophet ﷺ. When his turn came to walk, they said, "We will walk in your place." He replied, "Neither you two are stronger than me nor am I any lesser in need of rewards."⁸

³ Haythami documented it in *Al-Majma'* (6/73-74) remarking, "Tabari reported it with a *Hasan* chain."

⁴ A *Hadith* in *Sahih Muslim* (3/1510/H. 192); and in *Musnad* of Ahmad (3/1360) as a report from Anas ؓ. Tabarāni reported it in *Al-Majma'* (6/67). Haythami remarked, "Its narrators are trustworthy."

⁵ See the *Hadith* of Ka'b bin Mālik in *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/241/H. 4418).

⁶ See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/155-157/H. 3956-3959). The number mentioned here is "three hundred and a few." The *Ansār* were about two hundred and forty and the *Muhājir* about sixty. Muslim says (12/84, Nawawi) that their number was 319 and the polytheists were a thousand. Nasa'i in his *Sunan* (2/7) said they were 314. In this chain falls Yahya bin 'Abdullah who was trustworthy but given to doubts, so his reports maybe written down for considerations. The correct figure seems to be what Muslim wrote in explanation of the explanation of "a few" as nineteen, as said Bāwazir (p. 364).

⁷ This is part of a *Hadith* documented by Ibn Ishāq in connection with the Prophet ﷺ asking the Muslims whether to meet the Quraysh—Ibn Hishām (2/295). *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/155/H. 3956) mention that the *Muhājir* were around sixty while the *Ansār* were around more than two hundred and forty. See also Ibn Hajar's discussion (15/155 and 197) over the number of *Muhājir* and *Ansār* at Badr.

⁸ See the *Hadith* in the *Musnad* (6/3/Shākir). Shākir said its chain is *Sahih*. This is also the statement in *Al-Majma'* who attributed it to Bazzār adding, "In it falls 'Āsim bin Bahdalah and his report is *Hasan*, as for the rest of the narrators of Ahmad, they are reliable. Ibn Ishāq too has it with a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (2/302-303). Hākim documented in his *Al-Mustadrak* (3/30) saying, "The report is *Sahih* on the conditions laid by

When they reached a place called Rawha', the Prophet ﷺ returned Abu Lubābah to Madinah, appointing him its governor. Earlier, he had appointed 'Abdullah bin Umm Maktum to lead in prayers.⁹ Marthad bin Abu Marthad¹⁰ took Lubābah's place as the new sharer of the camel along with the Prophet and 'Ali. There is no contradiction then between the report of Ahmad and Ibn Ishāq who have reported different partners of the Prophet ﷺ in this journey.

When Abu Sufyān learnt of the Prophet's moves, he sent Damdam bin 'Amr Ghifāri to Makkah to warn the Quraysh. Damdam rushed to Makkah and when he entered the town he stood on the back of his camel, tore his shirt and shouted out, "O Quraysh! The caravan. The caravan. Your wealth with Abu Sufyān is threatened by Muhammad. I don't believe you will ever see it. Help. Help."

In response, the Quraysh came out speedily to help their men and save their wealth hoping also to meet the Muslims in a battle, annihilate them and resolve the issue once and for all. Therefore, none of their chieftains remained behind except for Abu Lahab. He sent 'Ās bin Hishām in his own place in return of a loan that was due from him amounting to 4000 dirhams.¹¹ Also, except for the 'Adi tribe,¹² no tribe remained without sending some of its men. They totalled some 1300 fighters at the beginning of the journey, on a hundred horses, and many camels. Six hundred of them wore coat of arms. They were led by Abu Jahl.¹³

Muslim." Dhahabi agreed with him.

⁹ See *Al-Mustadrak* (3/632) being a report over which Dhahabi remained silent because it includes Ibn Lahiy'ah who was treated trustworthy as stated in *At-Taqrīb* (1/444). Also see *Ibn Hishām* (2/302) in his additions to the *Sirat* but without a chain.

¹⁰ See Ibn Ishāq—Ibn Hishām (2/303) being a report concerning Badr through a *Hasan* chain, and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/285).

¹¹ See Ibn Ishāq in the story of Badr through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (2/298) through a *Hasan* chain.

¹² See Ibn Ishāq in the story of Badr through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (2/311) through a *Hasan* chain.

¹³ Reported by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/284-285) from the *Hadith* of

When the Quraysh remembered the enmity of Banu Bakr and that the latter might ambush the Makkans in their absence, they were almost ready to return when *Shaytān* (Satan) went to them in the form of Surāqah bin Mālik of the Mudlij tribe, being the chief of the Kinānah branch. He told them, "I stand guarantee for Kinānah that they should do anything behind you that is discomforting to you."¹⁴ So they continued, with plenty of pomp and show, as the Qur'ān illustrated,

﴿بَطَرًا وَرِثَاءَ النَّاسِ وَيَصُدُّونَ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ﴾

"Arrogant, and showing off to the people, preventing people from the way of Allāh."¹⁵

Meanwhile, 'Ātikah bint 'Abdul-Muttalib dreamt three days before Damdam's arrival that, in her words, "I saw a man arrive at Abtah saying, 'O people of Badr, leave within three days for the places of your fall.' Then the caller took a rock and threw it from the top of a mountain. It began to roll down and break into pieces until no house was left in which its pieces had not entered." When Abu Jahl heard of it he quipped addressing 'Abbās, "Is it not enough that you have a prophet among you, that you should now have a prophetess also?" There would have been some exchange of hostile action between 'Abbās and Abu Jahl if not for Damdam's arrival that engaged Abu Jahl's attention. With his arrival, the Makkans quickly got ready and left for Badr in fulfillment of 'Ātikah's dream.¹⁶

Umawi with a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain that stopped at Abu Bakr Hudhali to the effect that the polytheists had sixty horses.

¹⁴ Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain, but it is *Mursal* since it comes from 'Urwah—Ibn Hishām (2/301).

¹⁵ *Surat Al-Anfāl*: 47. This Verse was mentioned in a *Hadith* reported by Tabari in his *Tafsir* (13/578/Shākir) via a chain that stops at Hishām bin 'Urwah and has its origin in a dispatch sent by 'Urwah bin Zubayr to 'Abdullah bin Marwān. Shākir said, "It is a trustworthy narrative."

¹⁶ The narrative speaking of 'Ātikah's dream was reported by Ibn Ishāq through two chains of transmission. The first is Interrupted (*Munqati'*) because of the unknowability of the first narrator—Ibn Hishām (2/296).

Abu Sufyān was ever awake to the problem of Muslim attack. When he reached Badr, he met Majdi bin 'Amr and sought from him the news of the Prophet's army. He told him that he had seen two riders near a mountain. They had watered themselves at a well nearby and left. Abu Sufyān immediately went to the spot, picked up some camel-dung, broke it and knew from it that it was fed on Madinan dates. He returned quickly and veering around to the left of Badr, took the caravan by the unfrequented seashore route. By that guile he escaped unmolested. Then he sent a message to the Quraysh, who were then encamped in Juhfah, informing them of his escape and advised them to return to Makkah.¹⁷

The Makkan army would have all returned but for Abu Jahl who said, "By God. We shall not return until we have been up to Badr where we shall camp for three days, slaughter beasts, feed the people, drink wine, and hold song and dance sessions so that the Arabs hear of us coming and going and learn never to take us lightly. So, let's go."¹⁸

This was also mentioned by *Ibn Hishām* (2/296-298). Hākim however completed the chain in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/19-20) removing the unknowability factor. He offered the name of the person who narrated to Ibn Ishāq, viz., Husayn bin 'Abdullah. Nevertheless, Dhahabi declared him weak in *Talkhis*. The second version is Disconnected (*Mursal*)—*Ibn Hishām* (2/296-298).

Bayhaqi also documented in his *Dalā'il* (3/103-105) when reporting the Badr incident, having taken it from *Maghāzi* of Musa bin 'Uqbah, with a *Mursal* chain. Tabarāni reported it via a *Mursal* chain that has Ibn Lahiy'ah who was thought weak but his narratives are *Hasan*. This is stated in *Al-Majma'* (6/69-70). He also recorded through another chain in which falls 'Abdul-'Aziz bin 'Imrān, who was abandoned as a narrator, as stated in *Al-Majma'* (6/71-72). Ibn Mandah also preserved it as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isabāh* (4/357) through a chain that Bāwazir declared weak: *Marwiyyāt Ghazwat Badr*, p. 126. In short, the weakness there is in the chains of Hākim and Ibn Ishāq is reduced in degree because of the several narratives of this nature, raising it to the status of *Hasan li Ghayrihi* as stated by Bāwazir: *Marwiyyāt Ghazwat Badr* (p. 128, footnote).

¹⁷ Reported by Ibn Ishāq being part of a report covering Badr—Ibn Hishām (2/309-310).

¹⁸ Reported by Tabari in his *Tafsir* (13/579/Shākir) through a *Hasan* chain.

Except for Akhnas bin Shariq, the Makkan force obeyed him. Akhnas returned with his men. Tālib bin Abu Tālib also returned because the Quraysh accused Banu Hāshim that their sympathy was in truth with the Prophet ﷺ. The rest marched on to encamp near Badr behind the sand dunes at the farther end.¹⁹

The Prophet ﷺ received news of their march towards Badr and consulted his men.²⁰ A group of his followers felt that they were not ready for an abrupt confrontation. They argued their point with the Prophet ﷺ. Allāh (ﷻ) sent down His Words about them,

﴿ كَمَا أَخْرَجَكَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَيْتِكَ بِالْحَقِّ وَإِنَّ فَرِيقًا مِّنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَكَرِهُونَ
يُجَادِلُونَكَ فِي الْحَقِّ بَعْدَ مَا بَيَّنَّ كَأَنَّمَا يُسَاقُونَ إِلَى الْمَوْتِ وَهُمْ يَنْظُرُونَ ۝
وَإِذْ يَعِدُكُمُ اللَّهُ إِحْدَى الطَّائِفَتَيْنِ أَنَّهَا لَكُمْ وَتَوَدُّونَ أَنَّ غَيْرَ ذَاتِ الشُّوْكَه
تَكُونُ لَكُمْ وَيُرِيدُ اللَّهُ أَن يُحَقِّقَ الْحَقَّ بِكَلِمَاتِهِ وَيَقْطَعَ دَابِرَ الْكَافِرِينَ ۝

"As your Lord brought you out of your dwelling with truth, although a section of the believers was reluctant; arguing with you concerning the truth after it had become clear, as if they were being driven to death while they were looking on. When Allāh was promising you one of the two groups that it will be yours, while you were wishing that the unarmed should be yours, but Allāh was wishing to make true the truth with His Words and cut off the root of the disbelievers."²¹

The story was originally a narration of Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (2/310) via a chain that Tabari wrote. It may be noted that Tabari mentioned the whole of Ibn Ishāq's report in this regard as though coming through a single chain, and Ibn Ishāq himself did not mention the chain at every phrase, but rather offered notes. I am inclined to accept Tabari's method.

¹⁹ From Ibn Ishāq's report on Badr—*Ibn Hishām* (2/311-312). Banu Zuhra were around 300 men.

²⁰ The story of the Prophet ﷺ consulting his Companions was briefly recorded by Bukhārī as in *Al-Fath* (15/151-152/H. 3952); *Muslim* (3/1403-1404/H. 1779); Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/29-30), also in brief; Ibn 'Ā'idh through Abul-Aswad and he through 'Urwah, as in *Al-Fath* (15/151); Ibn Abu Shaybah Disconnected (*Mursal*), as in *Al-Musannaf* (14/355-356), *Fath* (15/151). See *Al-Bidāyah* (3/262-263).

²¹ *Surat Al-Anfāl*: 5 - The allusion by the "two groups" was to the caravan of

Leaders of the *Muhājir* such as Abu Bakr, 'Umar and Miqdād bin 'Amr on the other hand were of the opinion that they should march on and confront the Makkans. Miqdād said, "O Messenger of Allāh. Do what Allāh shows you as the right thing to do. We shall not say to you as the Israelites said to Moses, 'Go, you and your Lord, and fight. We shall remain seated right here.' Rather, we say, 'Go, you and your Lord and fight. We are right with you.' By Him who sent you, if you went as far as Barkal-Ghimād we shall accompany you until you have reached it."²² According to another report his words were, "We shall not say as the Israelites said to Musa, 'Go, you and your Lord and fight,' rather, we shall fight by your right, by your left, from the front and from the rear." His words pleased the Prophet ﷺ.²³

After having heard from the leaders of the *Muhājir*, the Prophet ﷺ sought others' counsel by saying, "People, give me your advice." He meant of course the *Ansār* since they were in greater numbers in his company and the text of the second pledge at 'Aqabah had not said anything about their defense of the Prophet ﷺ outside the city of Madinah.²⁴ Sa'd bin Mu'ādh, the standard-bearer of the *Ansār*, understood what the Prophet ﷺ meant. He got up and said, "By Allāh. It sounds like you intend us to speak out." The Prophet ﷺ replied, "Very much so." He said, "Well. We have believed in you and testified to your Messengership. We also testify that what you have brought is the Truth. Following these testimonies, we have

Abu Sufyān and the Quraysh army. The Muslims disliked to meet the armed group as they disapproved of a fight. They were in favor of encountering the caravan. But Allāh wished what He wished. See *Tafsir At-Tabari* (13/404) for the cause of revelation of this Verse in reports through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain coming from Qatādah and (13/403) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain and (13/404) through a *Mursal* chain coming from Ibn Jurayj, and (13/405) through a *Hasan* chain as mentioned by Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/73-74).

²² Reported by Ibn Ishāq being a report on Badr—*Ibn Hishām* (2/305).

²³ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/151-152/H. 3952) and the *Musnad* (5/259/Shākir) who said that the narrators are reliable.

²⁴ See Nawawi, *Muslim* (12/124) The Book of *Al-Jihād was-Sayr*, chapter *Ghawwah Badr*.

given you our word of pledge to listen and obey. Therefore, go ahead, O Messenger of Allāh and attempt what you think is right. By Him Who sent you, if you plunged into the sea, we will also plunge in after you, and no one will be left behind. We are not at all fearful of meeting the enemy tomorrow. Indeed, we are patient in the battlefield and true to our words when we meet our enemies. Maybe something will ensue of us that will be pleasing to you. Therefore, march on in the Name of Allāh."²⁵

The Prophet ﷺ was pleased with Sa'd's words. He congratulated him and said addressing the people, "March on and be of good cheer. Allāh has promised me one of the two groups. By Allāh, I can almost see the places of the enemy's fall."²⁶

As they marched forward, they met a pagan at Wabrah. He was known for his courage and fighting skills. He wished to fight on the Prophet's side. He told him, "Return, for we do not seek the help of the polytheists." The man offered his services a second time at another place. But the Prophet ﷺ repeated his words. The man met him again at Bayda' and offered his services a third time but adding

²⁵ Mentioned by Ibn Ishāq as a Badr report. Muslim's report (3/1404/H. 1779) however states that the one who spoke on behalf of the *Ansār* was Sa'd bin 'Ubādah. But actually he did not attend the Badr battle although given a share. Abu Shaybah reported this *Hadith* from 'Ikrimah as Hāfiz said in *Al-Fath* (15/151-152), who added: "It is possible to say that the Prophet ﷺ consulted them twice in connection with the battle of Badr, the first time in Madinah, while the second one after leaving Madinah." He also mentioned that according to a report in *At-Tabarāni*, Sa'd bin 'Ubādah had actually said these words at Hdaybiyah. This seems more likely to be correct as said by 'Urjun for whose discussions see the *Sirat* (3/308). Also see Ibn Kathir also in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/351).

²⁶ Ibn Ishāq reported this consultation—*Ibn Hishām* (2/305-306) in a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) form. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/287-288), "It has plenty of supportive proofs from different directions, one such being what Bukhārī reported in his *Sahih*, or Nasa'i, or Ahmad. See the details in *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/150-151/H. 3952), *Muslim* (3/143/H. 1779), Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/29-30), Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/34-35), Ibn 'Ā'idh through 'Urwah as reported by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/151); Ibn Abu Shaybah: *Al-Musannaf* (14/355-356) and Ibn Marduwayh as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/151).

that he had embraced Islam. The Prophet ﷺ allowed him to join in.²⁷

When he neared Safra', he sent Basbas bin 'Amr Juhani and 'Adi bin Abu Zaghba' Juhani to Badr to seek the news of Abu Sufyān's caravan.²⁸ Another report says he himself went out along with Abu Bakr. They met an old man and asked him the news of the Quraysh army. The man wished to first know their identity. They agreed but asked him to reveal his own identity first. Finally, the man told them that his news was that Muhammad and his men had left Madinah on such and such a day and, therefore, should be in such and such a place by now—laying his finger right on the place where the Muslims were. He also told them that if his news was correct, Quraysh and their army should be in such and such a place.

Then he asked them their identity. The Prophet ﷺ said, "We are from water," and rode away. The bewildered man gasped, "From the water! Which water? Of Iraq?"²⁹

The same evening he sent 'Ali, Zubayr, and Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās along with a few others to gather news of the enemy troops. They found two men drawing water for the Makkans. They seized them and brought them to the Prophet ﷺ. He was in prayers. They began to question the two. They said they were drawing waters for the Quraysh army. The Muslims wouldn't believe them and didn't like the answer wishing to hear about Abu Sufyān's caravan. So they beat them up until they admitted that they were Abu Sufyān's men. When the Prophet ﷺ had completed his prayers he told them that they were beating them when they spoke the truth and sparing them when delivering a lie. Then he informed them that the Quraysh army was right behind those sand dunes at the farther end.

²⁷ See the story in *Muslim* (3/1449-1450/H. 1817). It could be part of the authentic story of Badr—*Ibn Hishām* (2/034).

²⁸ This was reported by Ibn Ishāq without chain—possibly it is part of a *Hadith* of Badr—*Ibn Hishām* (2/304).

²⁹ Reported by Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/306-307) for it is one of the narratives of Muhammad bin Yahya bin Ibn Hibbān. He said about him in *At-Taqrīb*, p. 512, "Reliable scholar who died in the 21st year."

When the Prophet ﷺ asked the two about the number of the Quraysh army, they were unable to answer. However, upon asking, they revealed that the army slaughtered nine to ten camels a day for the soldiers. From that the Prophet ﷺ worked out that they could be between 900 and 1000 men. They also revealed details concerning the chief Qurayshi men that had come along. He remarked, "Makkah³⁰ has sent across pieces of its heart."³¹ He then pointed to the places where the chiefs of them would fall. And, every one of them fell right on that spot.³²

Allāh (ﷻ) also sent down rains that night, allowing the Muslims to cleanse and purify themselves. It also helped make the ground firmer under their feet.³³ Allāh said,

﴿وَيُنْزِلُ عَلَيْكُمْ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ مَاءً لِيُطَهِّرَكُمْ بِهِ وَيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمْ رِجْزَ الشَّيْطَانِ وَلِيَرْبِطَ عَلَى قُلُوبِكُمْ وَيُثَبِّتَ بِهِ الْأَقْدَامَ﴾

"(When) He was sending down water from the heaven to cleanse you therewith, remove from you satanic defilement, strengthen your hearts, and steady your feet therewith."^{34, 35}

Allāh's another blessing on the believers that day was that they dozed off for a while in a sound sleep. Allāh said,

³⁰ See the story in *Muslim* (3/1404/H. 1779) in which it is stated that the black boy they took belonged to Bani Hajjāj. Ahmad also mentioned it in his *Musnad* (2/193/Shākir); Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/76) who said, "Ahmad's chain is authentic but for Hārithah bin Mudarrib who too was trustworthy." Ahmad's version says that one of the water-drawer was lost by them. Ibn Ishāq too has this report—*Ibn Hishām* (2/307-308) without a chain which gives the names of the two boys: Aslam belonging to Banu Hajjāj and Gharid Abu Yasār belonging to Banu 'Ās bin Sa'eed. Others have also documented this report, apart from these.

³¹ This *Hadith* was reported by Ibn Ishāq.

³² This was reported by Muslim in the battle of Badr.

³³ See the story about the rain in *Ahmad* (2/193/Shākir) as also in Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (2/312) without a chain.

³⁴ *Surat Al-Anfāl*: 11.

³⁵ See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/292), and his *Tafsir* (3/564).

﴿إِذْ يُغَشِّيكُمُ الْتُعَاسَ أَمْنَةً مِنْهُ وَيُنْزِلُ عَلَيْكُمْ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ مَاءً...﴾

"(When) He was causing slumber to overcome you: as an assurance from Him, and He was sending down water from the heaven."³⁶

Hence we have a report in Ahmad³⁷ passed on to us by Anas bin Mālik. Abu Talhah said, "The day we arranged ourselves before the pagans at Badr, we were overtaken by a strong sleep. I was one of those whose grip on the sword would loosen, then I would tighten my grip and again it would slip."

On the other hand, Allāh weakened the disbelievers by casting differences between them. Ahmad³⁸ has reported that 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah began to discourage his tribesmen from fighting. He had realized that the Muslims would fight to death, dying not without killing one.³⁹ Abu Jahl taunted him for his chicken-heartedness. Bazzār⁴⁰ reports that 'Utbah told his men, "Soon, kin will slaughter

³⁶ From a long *Hadith* in the *Musnad* (2/193/Shākir).

³⁷ See about the cause behind the revelation of this Verse that Ibn Kathir mentioned at places of mention.

³⁸ See *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/43).

³⁹ This was known from 'Amr bin Wahb Jumahi who was sent by the Quraysh to spy on the Muslims. He returned to them and said, "I have seen, O people, tribulations loaded with destiny. We shall meet the Yathribites carrying certain death: a people who have no recourse except to their swords. By God, I don't see any of them killed but that he should kill one of you. And, if each one of them manages to finish off one of you, then what use the life thereafter? So, consider!"

This was also the reason why 'Utbah took the stand he took, and the reason behind the discussion that took place within the Quraysh army. This was documented by Ibn Ishāq through a weak chain, as in *Ibn Hishām* (2/315). As for the fact that the first generation transmitters are not known, it shouldn't affect the acceptability since they were Companions.

⁴⁰ As in *Al-Majma'* (6/76). Haythami said: "Its narrators are reliable." Among those who mentioned the story of the dispute is Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/433) which happens to be Disconnected (*Mursal*) narratives of Ibn Musaiyab, and (3/425-426) through a *Hasan* chain. It is also in Ibn Ishāq as in Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/295-296), in detail via a chain that Dr. Bāwazir declared *Sahih* in his *Marwiyyat Ghazwah Badr*, p. 155.

kin leaving bitterness in the heart that will not go away quick." Abu Jahl accused him of lack of courage. Angry, 'Utbah came out with his brother and son flanking him, inviting the Muslims to a duel. When the Prophet ﷺ saw him on a red camel he remarked, "If there be any good, it is in the rider on that red camel. If they obey him, he will guide them aright."⁴¹ However, Allāh (ﷻ) willed that he should be disobeyed. His counsel was lost in the storm of Abu Jahl's arrogance.

The Prophet ﷺ had arrived at the Badr waters earlier than the pagans. He kept the waters behind his men to prevent the pagans from drawing any. However, Hubāb bin Mundhir asked him, "O Messenger of Allāh. Have you chosen this spot following Allāh's revelation which cannot be disagreed with, or is it your choice following rules of strategy?" When the Prophet ﷺ admitted that it was his own decision, then Hubāb said, "Let us rather pitch ourselves at the end nearest to the enemy line with the water behind us. There we shall make a cistern and fill it with water leaving nothing for the enemy." The Prophet ﷺ agreed with him and shifted to the place Hubāb had advised.⁴²

⁴¹ From a *Hadith* of Ahmad in the *Musnad*, that has been discussed earlier.

⁴² This suggestion was recorded by Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—Ibn Hishām (2/312-313), and through a chain that disconnected, stopping at 'Urwah, as pointed out in *Al-Isābah* (1/302), *Al-Hākim* (3/446-447), which Dhahabi was not inclined to accept, nor Umawi, as in Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/293) with an Interrupted chain; also in Ibn Shāhin as in *Al-Isābah* (1/302), through a defective chain; Ibn Sa'd (2/15) whose report is in Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/293) in which falls Kalbi who stood rejected. Thus all the chains are weak. But the various narratives strengthen each other raising the report to the level of *Hasan li Ghayrihi* as Bāwazir said in *Marwīyyāt Ghazwah Badr*, pp. 164-165. He has his own arguments which can be looked into in the original. Yet, one can be skeptic of what he stated, for the following reasons: There are reports that contradict this one. Ibn Kathir e.g., quoted Ibn 'Abbās through 'Ali bin Abu Talhah in explanation of the Verse, "(When) He was causing slumber to overcome you: as an assurance from Him, and He was sending down water from the heaven to cleanse you therewith, remove from you satanic defilement, strengthen your hearts, and steady your feet therewith," that it could be understood as the polytheists gaining control over water, that the Muslims were terribly

When they had moved to the new place, Sa'd suggested, "O Messenger of Allāh. Why should we not build a hut⁴³ for you? You can stay there with a camel at your disposal. When the battle begins and Allāh grants us victory over the enemy, then that is what we covet. However, if it goes wrong then you can take your beast and race back to our people at Madinah many of whom have not joined us. They are no less than us in their love of you. Had they known that you will be meeting with your enemy today, they wouldn't have remained behind. Once you are with them, they'll protect you and fight for you." The Prophet ﷺ agreed with the suggestion.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, what is apparent from the reports is that although the Prophet ﷺ occupied the hut, praying and supplicating therein, he didn't remain within it all the time. In fact, he participated in the fight that took place. 'Ali has reported in a narration preserved by Ahmad,⁴⁵ "I can see ourselves seeking shelter behind the Prophet ﷺ on the day of Badr. He was the nearest to the enemy lines. That day

weak, and that the devil threw fury in their hearts, until Allāh the Almighty sent down rainwater of which they drank and cleansed themselves (see *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* 3/563). Ibn Kathir also quoted another explanation coming through 'Awfi, reaching Ibn 'Abbās, which gives out similar meaning. Indeed, Ibn Kathir added, "Similar opinions have come down from Qatādah, Dahhāk and Suddi. All these lead us to mistrust the narrative in question despite its wide acceptance.

⁴³ Something similar to a tent or shade which serves as a resting place for the commander of an army providing him shade.

⁴⁴ Reported by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—Ibn Hishām (2/313). As regards the construction of a shade for the Prophet ﷺ on the day of Badr, it is confirmed by the *Sahih Hadith*. Umawi reported it quoting Ibn Ishāq as in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/312) that the Prophet ﷺ took a brief nap and upon waking he said: "O Abu Bakr, rejoice with the glad tiding, here is Jibril with his headgear on, holding the reins of his horse, leading it through the ravines. Allāh's help and His force has come to you." Umawi's chain is of *Hasan* status as noted by Albāni in his comment on *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 243. Its mention is made in a narration of *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (18/254/H. 4877) too. In another report of Bazzār that has a reliable chain, 'Ali said, "We constructed a hut for the Prophet..." This was mentioned by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/298).

⁴⁵ *Al-Musnad* (2/64/Shākir). Shākir said its chain is *Sahih*.

he was the most fierce against them." The narration says in another place, "When the going got tough on that day, we sought refuge behind the Prophet ﷺ for he was the strongest of the people. No one was nearer to the enemy lines than him."⁴⁶

Muslim⁴⁷ reports that the Prophet ﷺ told his Companions: "Let none of you move ahead of me towards the enemy lines." Ibn Kathir⁴⁸ said, "He personally fought, and fought hard. And so did Abu Bakr. The two were also of the most supplicating in the hut (before the fight). Then they came down, encouraged us to fight hard and themselves fought hard between the two points (the hut and the battle lines—Translator).

After the Prophet ﷺ had taken every precautionary measure possible within human range, he spent the night previous⁴⁹ to the fight praying and supplicating to Allāh (ﷻ) for help and victory. Some of his supplicatory words, as preserved by Muslim⁵⁰ were: "O Allāh. Fulfil Your promise to me. O Allāh. Grant me what You had promised me. O Allāh. If this small group is destroyed, you will not be worshipped thereafter." According to another version, "He kept beseeching his Lord until his upper garment fell off his shoulder. Abu Bakr came up from his rear, put back the cloak on his shoulder and said, "O Prophet of Allāh. Your supplications to Allāh should suffice. Surely, He will keep the promise He made you." And Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿إِذْ تَسْتَغِيثُونَ رَبَّكُمْ فَاسْتَجَابَ لَكُمْ أَنِّي مُمِدُّكُم بِآلِفٍ مِنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ مُرَدِّفِينَ﴾

"When you were seeking your Lord's help, He responded, 'I shall

⁴⁶ Al-Musnad (2/228/Shākir) who said its chain is Sahih.

⁴⁷ Muslim (3/1510/H. 1901). The redactor of Jami'ul-Usul says that the original text says, "Until I give him leave." However, in the printed copies of Muslim it is, "Until I am by him."

⁴⁸ Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah (3/306).

⁴⁹ Ahmad reported in Al-Musnad (2/271/Shākir) through a Sahih chain coming from 'Ali who said, "I saw ourselves, there wasn't one of us but asleep except for the Messenger of Allāh. He was praying under a tree and supplicating until the morning.

⁵⁰ Muslim (3/1384/H. 1763).

extend you help with a thousand angels coming down one after another."⁵¹

And, surely, Allāh did help with the angels.

Of the supplicatory words that Bukhārī⁵² has preserved, one says, "O Allāh. I remind You of Your promise. O Allāh. If You so wished, You will not be worshipped after this day." Abu Bakr then held his hand and said, "It is enough, O Messenger of Allāh. You have beseeched enough." The Prophet ﷺ came out of the hut saying, "The forces will be defeated and they will show their backs." Ibn Abu Hātim has reported 'Ikrimah as saying, "When the revelation came,

﴿سَيَهْرِمُ الْجَمْعُ وَيُولُونَ الدُّبُرَ﴾

"The forces will be defeated and they will show their backs,"⁵³

'Umar asked, 'Which force will be defeated and which one will overcome?' Later, 'Umar said, "When on the day of Badr the Prophet ﷺ emerged with his coat of arm on him, saying, 'The forces will be defeated and they will show their backs,' then, that day I knew its meaning."⁵⁴

The next day, Friday, seventeenth of Ramadān, second year after Hijrah,⁵⁵ when the forces stood against each other, the Prophet

⁵¹ Surat Al-Anfāl: 9.

⁵² See Al-Fath (18/253/H. 4875), and Al-Fath (18/254/H. 4877). Ahmad also documented it in Musnad (5/18/Shākir) about which Shākir ruled that it was trustworthy.

⁵³ Surat Al-Qamar: 45.

⁵⁴ Reported by Ibn Kathir in his Tafsir (7/457) as a disconnected narrative of 'Ikrimah. Sā'āti said when reporting this Hadith in Al-Fathur-Rabbāni (21/390) "The Hadith is authentic which Ibn Kathir quoted in his Tafsir and ascribed it to Bukhārī through 'Affān, and he through Wuhayb." Then he added, "Bukhārī and Nasa'i have recounted it in several places tracing it through Khālid who has been identified as Ibn Mihrān."

⁵⁵ Ibn Hajar said in At-Talkhisul-Habir: "As regards the battle of Badr, there has been consensus among the biographers that it took place in the second year after Hijrah: Ibn Ishāq, Musa bin 'Uqbah, Abul-Aswad and others. They also agreed that it took place in Ramadān. Ibn 'Asākir said that it

ﷺ supplicated, "O Allāh. This is Quraysh. They have come with their pride and arrogance, crying lies to Your Messenger. O Allāh. Send the help You promised me. O Allāh, destroy them by the noon."⁵⁶

When the Muslims arranged themselves in rows, the Prophet ﷺ began to straighten the rows with the help of an arrow. Accidentally he pricked therewith Sawād bin Ghaziyyah in his stomach, trying to push him behind saying, "Sawād. Fall in line." Sawād replied, "O Messenger of Allāh. You have hurt me. Allow me retribution." The Prophet ﷺ raised his shirt to bare his stomach and said, "Go ahead with the retribution." Sawād bent down and kissed it. He asked, "What made you do that Sawād?" He replied, "O Messenger of Allāh. You can see what we are faced up with. I thought, 'Let my final act be that my skin touch yours.'" The Prophet ﷺ supplicated for him.⁵⁷

was generally thought that it took place on a Friday although some thought it was a Monday. But that was a stray opinion. The majority also believe that it took place on the seventeenth. Some said it was on the twelfth of Ramadān that they started and seventeenth the day of battle. Tabari recorded in his *Tārīkh* (2/419) via a *Hasan* chain on the authority of Ibn Mas'ud ؓ, who said in connection with The Night of Power: "Look for it on the seventeenth, 'When the two forces met.'" See also Bāwazir: (pp. 68-73).

⁵⁶ Reported by Ibn Ishāq, with a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain, as also Ibn Hishām (2/314). It is confirmed that Abu Jahl said when the two forces met: "O Allāh, destroy this morning the one of us who severed the blood ties and who introduced among us what we know not." Thus he was the one who sought judgment, and through this supplication, brought the judgment upon himself. Allāh, the Almighty, revealed in this connection: "If you are seeking a judgment, then, now the judgment has come to you. If you desist, it will be better for you. If you resume (your war against the faithful), We will return (to their help), and your forces, superior though they be in number, shall avail you nothing, for Allāh is with the faithful," *Surat Al-Anfāl*: 19. This *Hādith* was reported through reliable chains by Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/44); Tabari in his *Tafsir* (13/454/Shākir) through a reliable chain; Hākim (2/328) who declared it authentic. As for the supplication and the words, "He was the one who sought judgment," were reported by Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (2/323) through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain.

⁵⁷ Sawād's incidence was reported by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted

Thereafter he gave directions to them concerning the battle about to begin. He said, "When they come nearer, start with the arrows but use them sparingly."⁵⁸ And don't charge them with your swords until they are pretty close." He also encouraged them to fight hard saying, "By Him in Whose Hand is my life, no one will fight hard today, patiently, hoping to be rewarded, without showing his back, but Allāh will admit him into Paradise."⁵⁹ According to a report in *Muslim*⁶⁰ when the enemy got close, he said, "Reach out for a Paradise whose breadth is the heavens and the earth." When 'Umayr bin Humām Ansāri heard it, he said, "O Messenger of Allāh! A Paradise whose breadth is the heavens and the earth?" He replied, "Yes." He said, "Bakh, bakh."⁶¹ The Prophet ﷺ asked, "What made you say that?" He replied, "Nothing except that I hope to be one of its dwellers." He said, "You are one of its dwellers." 'Umayr took out a few dates and began to eat. Then he said, "If I live until I finish these dates, that would be a long life." So he threw away the dates and fought until he was killed.⁶²

(*Munqati'*) chain—Ibn Hishām (2/320-321); 'Abdur-Razzāq and Baghawī to whom Ibn Hajar attributed the report in his *Al-Isabāh* (2/95). But its chain is Disconnected (*Mursal*); as well as Wāqidi (1/56-57), and Tabarāni as in *Al-Majma'* (6/289). Haythami remarked, "The chain is authentic." It is also in Ibn Ishāq in the same meaning. Bāwazir said, p. 183, "A Disconnected report is acceptable to some scholars. And if it is supported by others then it is accepted by most. And, according to the reports in Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi, that it was an arrow which was in the hand of the Prophet ﷺ, whereas in the narration of 'Abdur-Razzāq it was a bent old twig in his hand. The text means an arrow without feathers at the far end, while Sawād is also pronounced as Sawwād.

⁵⁸ *Sunan Abu Dāwūd* (3/188/H. 2664) a report over which Mundhiri made no comment. See *Mukhtasar Sunan Abu Dāwūd* along with *Ma'ālimus-Sunan*, a research work of Shākir and Fiqqi (3/188/H. 2548).

⁵⁹ Reported by Ibn Ishāq - without chain—Ibn Hishām (2/322).

⁶⁰ Reported in *Muslim* (3/1509-1511/H. 1901); Ibn Sa'd (2/25) in brief; Bayhaqi in his *Sunan* (9/43) and Ibn Ishāq—without a chain—Ibn Hishām (2/322).

⁶¹ He used a word that is said in situations of wonder and pride.

⁶² Reported by Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—Ibn Hishām (2/322-323) who did not report with a connected chain.

'Awf bin Hārith bin 'Afra' asked, "O Messenger of Allāh. What deed of the slave makes the Lord laugh?" The Prophet ﷺ replied, "A man's deep incursion into the enemy lines." 'Awf removed his coat of mail, threw it away and fought until he was killed.

Before the fighting began the Prophet ﷺ instructed his Companions that they were not to kill anyone of the Banu Hāshim for they had been forced into the conflict. Some of those he named were Abu Bakhtari bin Hishām—he was one of those who had got the boycott lifted and had never misbehaved with the Prophet ﷺ—and 'Abbās bin 'Abdul-Muttalib. When Abu Hudhayfah heard the instruction he remarked, "Shall we kill our fathers, sons, brothers and other kin and spare 'Abbās? By Allāh, if I encounter him I'll kill him." His words reached the Prophet ﷺ. He complained to 'Umar, Hafsah's father, "Will the Prophet's uncle's face be struck with a sword?" 'Umar said, "Allow me O Messenger of Allāh that I behead this man. I think he is a hypocrite." Abu Hudhayfah used to say, "I never felt myself in peace with 'Umar thereafter because of what I said that day. And I still fear my words unless they can be atoned with martyrdom." He was martyred in the Yamāmah battle.⁶³

Before the battle would begin, Aswad bin 'Abdul-Asad the Makhzumi came out saying, "I swear by God that I shall drink from the water of the wells in their custody, destroy it, or die." Hamzah confronted him and struck him with a sword that severed off both his shanks. He began to crawl—bleeding heavily—to reach the waters so as to fulfil his oath. Hamzah followed him and beheaded him while he had sunk his face in the water.⁶⁴

⁶³ Reported by Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—Ibn Hishām (2/324). Bāwazir, p. 268, believes that sometimes Ibn Ishāq reported this through an authentic chain in connection with the battle of Badr; and this is what we also believe. A report says that Abu Bakhtari insisted on fighting and hence was killed.

⁶⁴ His story was reported by Ibn Ishāq without a chain—Ibn Hishām (2/318). Probably it is part of his Badr narrations that have come through a Good (*Hasan*) chain.

Duel Fights

After that three horsemen came out seeking duel fights. They were 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah and his two brothers Shaybah and Walid. Three of the *Ansār* accepted the challenge: Hārith's sons 'Awf and Mu'awwidh and 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah. The Qurayshites refused to fight them and demanded that the *Muhājir* should respond. So the Prophet ﷺ sent out 'Ubaydah bin Hārith, Hamzah and 'Ali. Hamzah met 'Utbah, 'Ubaydah met Walid and 'Ali met Shaybah. 'Ali and Hamzah slew their opponents. Then they turned to 'Ubaydah to finish off Walid and carried him off injured by Walid's strike.⁶⁵

Allāh (ﷻ) revealed about these six men,

﴿هَذَانِ خَصْمَانِ أَخَصَمُوا فِي رَبِّهِمْ فَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا قُطِعَتْ لَهُمْ ثِيَابٌ مِّنْ نَّارٍ يُصَبُّ مِنْ فَوْقِ رُءُوسِهِمُ الْحَمِيمُ﴾

"These were two disputants that disputed about their Lord. So, garments of Fire will be cut for those who disbelieved and boiling liquid will be poured over their heads."^{66, 67}

Then the Prophet ﷺ asked 'Ali to hand him over a handful of dust and pebbles. He threw them in the face of the enemy and not one was

⁶⁵ This is the content of the report of Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (4/49/H. 2665). Ibn Hajar said, "This is the most accurate of narratives." Then he added, "However, the biographies generally state that the one who fought the duel with 'Ali was Walid, and that seems to be correct because 'Ubaydah and Shaybah were both matured men, as were 'Utbah and Hamzah. In contrast, 'Ali and Walid were youths. Tabarāni reported through a *Hasan* chain that 'Ali said: 'Hamzah and I helped 'Ubaydah bin Hārith against Walid bin 'Utbah and the Prophet ﷺ showed no signs of disapproval.' This agrees with the narrative of Abu Dāwud; Allāh knows best." See *Al-Fath* (15/163) without a chain—Ibn Hishām (2/319) and Ibn Sa'd (2/17-23). See the others in *Al-Fath* (15/152). Of the *Hadith* recorders, it was preserved by Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/31-32). Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (6/76): "Ahmad's chain consists of men of *Sahih* narratives, except for Hārithah bin Mudarrib, who in any case was trustworthy." Also reported by Bazzār in his *Musnad*, as stated in *Kashful-Astār* (2/311-312).

⁶⁶ Surat Al-Hajj: 19.

⁶⁷ This was reported in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/162-164/H. 3966-3969).

left, but who felt the dust in his eyes, and the Verse was revealed,

﴿وَمَا رَمَيْتَ إِذْ رَمَيْتَ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ رَمَىٰ﴾

"And it was not you who threw when you threw, it was Allāh Who threw."⁶⁸ ⁶⁹

Participation of the Angels

As the pagans neared, the Muslims charged upon them with great vigor, and heads flew. Allāh (ﷻ) helped them with the angels as the revelation said,

﴿وَلَقَدْ نَصَرَكُمُ اللَّهُ بِبَدْرِ وَأَنْتُمْ أَذِلَّةٌ . . .﴾

"Surely, Allāh helped you at Badr while you were weak..."⁷⁰

and,

﴿إِذْ تَسْتَغِيثُونَ رَبَّكُمْ فَاسْتَجَبَ لَكُمْ أَنَّىٰ مِذْكُم بِأَلْفٍ مِّنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ مُرْدِفِينَ . . .﴾

"When you were seeking help from your Lord. So He responded to you (saying), 'I shall extend help to you with a thousand angels, coming down in succession...'"⁷¹

and,

﴿إِذْ يُوحَىٰ رَبُّكَ إِلَى الْمَلَائِكَةِ أَنِّي مَعَكُمْ فَثَبِّتُوا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا سَالِفِي فِي قُلُوبِ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا الرُّعْبَ . . .﴾ الآية

⁶⁸ Surat Al-Anfāl: 17.

⁶⁹ This was reported by Haythami in *Al Majma'* (6/84) with a complete chain, who added, "Tabarāni preserved it through trustworthy men." It was also recorded by Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/323). This report adds that when the Prophet ﷺ took the pebbles, he said, "Faces be destroyed." Then he blew across them and told his Companions to attack which resulted in their defeat.

⁷⁰ Surat Āl 'Imrān: 123-126.

⁷¹ Surat Al-Anfāl: 9-11.

"When your Lord revealed to the angels, 'I am with you. So, steady the believers. I will soon cast terror in the hearts of the disbelievers, so, smite them above the necks, and strike them over every joint (of the body).'"⁷²

A few *Ahādith* (traditions) have also been reported on this issue. One in *Muslim* says,⁷³ "That day, while a Muslim was chasing a pagan trying to escape, he heard from above the sound of a rider's whip and someone saying, 'Onward, O Hayzum.'" ⁷⁴ The next thing he saw was that the pagan was fallen on the ground, nose flattened, and face with a deep blue whip mark. The *Ansāri* reported the matter to the Prophet ﷺ. He remarked, "You spoke the truth. That was the help from the third heaven."

Ahmad⁷⁵ has reported that a short man from the *Ansār* brought 'Abbās as a prisoner. 'Abbās said, "O Messenger of Allāh. It is not this man who captured me. The one who captured me was a man of an extremely beautiful countenance, on a striped horse that I don't see him around now." But the *Ansāri* insisted that he had captured him. The Prophet ﷺ told him, "Be quiet man. Allāh (ﷻ) helped with a noble angel."

Umawi⁷⁶ has reported that the Prophet ﷺ dozed off for a few moments in the hut built for him. As he came on again he said, "Abu Bakr. Good news. Allāh's help has come. Here is Jibril with

⁷² Surat Al-Anfāl: 12.

⁷³ *Sahih Muslim* (3/1384-1385/H. 1763).

⁷⁴ Hayzum was the name of the angel's horse, as Nawawi said when explaining it in *Sahih Muslim* (12/86). *An-Nihāyah fi Gharibil-Hadith* has it that it is the name of Jibril's horse.

⁷⁵ *Al-Musnad* (2/194/Shākir) from a long *Hadith*. Shākir said, "Its chain is *Sahih*." It is also there in *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (6/75-76) where he said, "Ahmad and Bazzār preserved it. Ahmad's narrators are those of *Sahih* except for Hārithah bin Mudarrib who too was trustworthy." Albāni however declared it *Hasan* while commenting on *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazālī, p. 243. And the name of the person who took 'Abbās as prisoner was Abul-Yasar bin 'Amr who has been identified as Ka'b bin 'Amr (*Musnad* 5/105/Shākir). The chain however is weak.

⁷⁶ Ibn Kathir quoted it in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/312) which is a narration from Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain as said Albāni when commenting on *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazālī, p. 243. See it in *Ibn Hishām* (2/321-322) with an

the turban on, leading his horse. His horse has dust on its teeth. The help Allāh (ﷻ) had promised has arrived."

Several *Ahādith* speak of the arrival of the angels in the battle of Badr but none of them are specific about them taking part in the fighting. Bukhārī has a report that the Prophet ﷺ said on that day, "This is Jibril fully armed leading his horse." According to another report he said, "Once Jibril came to the Prophet ﷺ and asked, 'What do you think of those who participated in (the battle of) Badr?' The Prophet ﷺ replied, 'We think of them as the best of Muslims.' Jibril said, 'We too consider those angels the best of us who participated in the battle of Badr.'"⁷⁷

Hākim⁷⁸ has reported that Zubayr had a yellow turban on his head and so the angels also came with yellow headgears.

Allāh (ﷻ) also blessed the Muslims on that day with a few miracles. It is reported that 'Ukkāshah bin Mihsan fought with his sword until it broke in his hand. The Prophet ﷺ gave him a wooden shank to fight with. It turned into a sword of white shining steel in his hand. He fought on therewith the rest of the battle as well as in several battles thereafter. The last he used it was in the battle of Yamāmah when he was martyred.⁷⁹

When *Iblis* (Satan), who had joined the pagan ranks in the form of Surāqah bin Mālik in his effort to coax them into the battle, witnessed what the angels and the Muslims were doing to the pagans, he disowned them and turning backward ran until he reached the sea.⁸⁰

Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain. Umawi however presented a complete chain. As did Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (7/54) tracing it through two chains different from that of Ibn Ishāq.

⁷⁷ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/180-181/H. 3995).

⁷⁸ *Al-Mustadrak* (3/361). Bāwazir declared its chain authentic in *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Badr*, p. 243.

⁷⁹ Reported by Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/336); Wāqidi in *Maghāzi* (1/93); Bayhaqi in *Ad-Dalā'il* (2/98-99) who takes it from Wāqidi, and Ibn Sa'd (1/188) who has a chain other than that of Ibn Ishāq. Nevertheless, the chain is very weak for two reasons: One, being Disconnected (*Mursal*) and second weakness in Abu Ma'shar who was identified as Najih bin 'Abdur-Rahmān.

⁸⁰ Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (2/374) Suspended (*Mua'allaq*); Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir*

The falling Places of the Pagan Leaders

1. Abu Jahl:

Bukhārī⁸¹ and Muslim⁸² have reported through 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf ؓ that he said, "I was in one of the rows on the day of

(5/41/H. 4550) from whom Haythami requited in *Al-Majma'* (6/77) commenting: "It has 'Abdul-'Aziz bin 'Imrān, who was weak." Also documented by Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/431), via a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain, and so just acceptable, as also Wāqidi (1/71). Ahmad too has it (14/7/H. 16183/Shākir). Shākir said about Ahmad's chain that it is weak because of the break in the chain between 'Ali bin Abu Talhah and Ibn 'Abbās.

Muhammad Husayn Dhahabi has mentioned in his *Tafsir wal-Mufasssirun* (1/77) discussing the report of Ibn 'Abbās: "First, through Mu'āwiyah bin Sālih—'Ali bin Abu Talhah—Ibn 'Abbās. This is one of the best chains about which Imam Ahmad said, 'In Egypt lies a book in *Tafsir* that 'Ali bin Abu Talhah narrated. If someone were to travel to Egypt for this work alone, he wouldn't be doing much.' Ibn Hajar said, "This manuscript remained with Abu Sālih, Layth's secretary. He reported through Mu'āwiyah bin Sālih—'Ali bin Abu Talhah—Ibn 'Abbās. Bukhārī has it through Abu Sālih. He accepted such reports that reach Ibn 'Abbās through Abu Sālih.' This then is the route that Shākir declared weak. In any case, Ibn Jarir brought it in his *Tafsir* (14/7/16183/Shākir). He traced it through Mu'āwiyah bin Sālih—'Ali bin Abu Talhah—Ibn 'Abbās. Subsequently he mentioned the same story through another route of Qatādah (3/9/16187) and Ibn 'Abbās (3/9/16188) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain for Ibn Jurayj never met Ibn 'Abbās; as also through Hasan Basri (3/10/16191). The story is also in Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (3/111, 115) being a narrative of Musa bin 'Uqbah. As for this latter's reports are considered the most trustworthy by the chroniclers. Whenever Imam Mālik was asked about war reports he would say, "Look into the pious man Musa bin 'Uqbah's narratives, for it is the basis of all war chronicles." See *Dalā'il* (3/101). His war chronicles were reported by Ismā'il bin Ibrāhim bin 'Uqbah (d. 158). Musa bin 'Uqbah had met 'Abdullah bin 'Umar while traveling to Makkah for *Hajj*. He also sat in the circles of Zuhri, living in Madinah. See *Dalā'il* (3/101, f.n. 1).

Thus the story is true as it comes through Mu'āwiyah bin Sālih—'Ali bin Abu Talhah—Ibn 'Abbās. Other reports gain weight from this one.

⁸¹ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/231-232/H. 3141) from whom we have taken the words here.

⁸² *Sahih Muslim* (3/1372/H. 1752).

the battle. As I looked around I found two lads on my left and right. I didn't feel very pleased with such young ones by my sides. One of them asked me in secret, as if not wishing the other one to hear, 'Uncle. Can you identify Abu Jahl for me.' I asked him, 'My dear nephew. What have you to do with him?' He said, 'I have heard that he used to insult the Prophet ﷺ. By Allāh, if I see him today, I shall not leave him until one of us is dead.' The boy's words amazed me. Then the other one took me into confidence and asked me the same question. I saw Abu Jahl moving about among the people. I said, 'Do you two see that man. That's the one you are looking for.' They rushed forward, attacked him and killed him. Then they went up to the Prophet ﷺ. He asked, 'Which of you killed him?' Both claimed to have killed him. He asked them, 'Have you wiped your swords?' They said, 'No.' He looked at their swords and said, 'Both of you killed him.' The Prophet ﷺ ordered Abu Jahl's belongings to be given to Mu'ādh bin 'Amr bin Jamuh,⁸³ the other being Mu'ādh bin 'Afra', who later got killed in the same battle."

Ibn Ishāq⁸⁴ reports from Mu'ādh bin Jamuh who said, "I heard from the people that Abu Jahl was well protected, being always surrounded by his pagan pals.⁸⁵ The general opinion was that no one could get at him. When I heard that, I decided to target him. When I got my opportunity, I attacked him hitting him hard on the leg to shear it from the shank. His son 'Ikrimah came on me and struck me with his sword on my shoulder. That blow sheared off my arm altogether which hung by its skin. I threw the hand behind my back and kept fighting with it dangling at the back. When it became very painful to carry it, I put it under a foot and tore it off. Then Mu'awwidh bin 'Afra' happened to pass by Abu Jahl. He was unconscious. He finished him off and fought on until he was killed.

Bukhārī⁸⁶ reported that the Prophet ﷺ said after the fighting

⁸³ For the second one was killed as a martyr in the same battle.

⁸⁴ *Ibn Hishām* (2/333), through a *Hasan* chain.

⁸⁵ The Arabic word denotes a tree that has many branches and the likeness of the pagans is like their intertwining around the tree.

⁸⁶ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/158-160/H. 3962, 3963).

had died down, "Let someone find out what happened to Abu Jahl." Ibn Mas'ud ؓ went into the field looking for him. He learnt that he had been brought down by the two sons of 'Afra'. He pulled him by his beard and asked him, "Are you Abu Jahl?" Abu Jahl replied, "(Another insult) upon the fact that you killed the man?" or, he said, "a man killed by his people."

Ahmad's⁸⁷ report tells us that the Prophet ﷺ himself went down to see his body and as he saw him lying on the ground, remarked, "This was the Fir'awn of this *Ummah*."

Ibn Ishāq⁸⁸ adds that when Ibn Mas'ūd went up to Abu Jahl and tried to behead him by placing his foot on his head, he remarked, "You have climbed high, O shepherd."

2. Umaiya bin Khalaf:

'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf ؓ was able to capture Umaiya bin Khalaf. However, when Bilāl ؓ saw him he cried out in anguish, "Here is the fountain-head of disbelief Umaiya bin Khalaf. I will not feel secure if this man is alive." 'Abdur-Rahmān tried to pacify Bilāl but he wouldn't listen. Instead, he shouted for help from the *Ansār*. They rushed forward and despite Ibn 'Awf's protests and his efforts to save Umaiya by covering him while the man crouched on the ground, they managed to kill him.⁸⁹

When the pagan corpses were being thrown into the pit, Umaiya's corpse could not be thrown. His body swelled and his coat of arm couldn't be relieved off him. When they tried to drag it, it split into pieces. So they left it where it was and threw stones on it to cover it.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ *Al-Musnad* (5/316/H. 3824/Shākir). The redactor declared it weak.

⁸⁸ *Ibn Hishām* (2/135) who transmitted it with a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain.

⁸⁹ See the whole story in *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (10/49-50/H. 2301), and Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (1/329). As for who all participated in his killing, there are contradictory reports that one might see in Ibn Hajar's explanation offered for the report.

⁹⁰ Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (338-339).

3. 'Ās bin Hishām bin Mughirah:

'Ās bin Hishām was 'Umar bin Khattāb's uncle. 'Umar sought to kill him and, finally, did manage to do so. That he did to demonstrate that he had no sympathy for the enemies of Allāh.⁹¹

The battle of Badr resulted in a big victory for the Muslims. They killed off seventy of the pagans and captured another seventy.⁹² Of the Muslims fourteen were killed: six from the Quraysh and eight from the *Ansār*.⁹³

The pagans fully deserved the retribution for the past deeds. Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ بَدَّلُوا نِعْمَتَ اللَّهِ كَفْرًا وَأَحَلُّوا قَوْمَهُمْ دَارَ الْبَوَارِ ۖ
جَهَنَّمَ يَصْلَوْنَهَا وَيَنسَوْنَ الْقَرَارَ﴾⁹⁴

"Have you not considered those who exchanged Allāh's favor with disbelief, and settled their people in the house of ruin: Jahannam, that they will enter into – an evil place of rest."⁹⁴

Burial of the Pagans

Bukhārī,⁹⁵ Muslim,⁹⁶ Ahmad,⁹⁷ Ibn Ishāq⁹⁸ and others⁹⁹ have reported that the Prophet (ﷺ) ordered twenty-four of the dead

⁹¹ Being a report recorded by Ibn Hishām in his additions to the *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (2/335-336). Yet it is with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain.

⁹² Muslim (3/1385/H. 1763), and Ahmad in *Al-Musnad* (2/949/Shākir) through a trustworthy chain.

⁹³ This was said by Musa bin 'Uqbah, as in *Al-Bidāyah* by Ibn Kathir (3/230) who did not attribute it to anyone. There have been other opinions. So one might look into his work.

⁹⁴ *Surat Ibrāhīm*: 28-29. See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (17/268/H. 4700) on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that they were Makkan pagans.

⁹⁵ *Al-Fath* (15/167-168/H. 3976).

⁹⁶ *Sahih Muslim* (4/2204/H. 2875).

⁹⁷ *Al-Musnad* (1/232/Shākir). Shākir said: "Its chain is reliable."

⁹⁸ *Ibn Hishām* (2/339) through a *Hasan* chain.

⁹⁹ For example: Tabarani as in *Al-Majma'* (6/91). Haythami commented that the transmitters are trustworthy.

Qurayshi chieftains¹⁰⁰ to be thrown into one of the deserted wells. It was his practice to stay put three days in a place he had met with victory. When it was the third day at Badr, he ordered his beast to be got ready. He started off on it. Some of the Companions began to follow him saying, "He must be on an errand." The Prophet (ﷺ) stopped at the pit. He stood at its edge and began to call them by their and their father's names, saying, "O so-and-so, O so-and-so, do you now realize that you should have obeyed Allāh and His Messenger? We have found Allāh's promises made to us true. Do you also find that the promise your Lord made to you have come true?" 'Umar remonstrated, "O Messenger of Allāh. Are you talking to lifeless corpses?" He replied, "By Him in Whose Hand is Muhammad's life, you hear no better than they do now."

In reference to the Verse (*Ar-Rum*: 52): "... For, you cannot make the dead hear, nor make the deaf hear the call when they are turning away," Ibn Kathir has said in his commentary that 'Āishah's opinion was that 'Abdullah bin 'Umar was mistaken to say that the Prophet (ﷺ) spoke to the dead in the pit after three days had passed over them. The reports to this effect are in Muslim, Ahmad and Nasa'i. However, 'Āishah interpreted the Prophet's words as meaning that 'now they realize that what I had been warning them about was true.' But Qatādah's opinion was that Allāh (ﷻ) brought them to life so that they could hear the Prophet's words and chiding.

Nonetheless, the opinion of the scholars is that Ibn 'Umar's report is authentic for the reasons that there are so many parallel reports confirming it.

When the pagan corpses were being thrown into the pit and 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah's turn came, the Prophet (ﷺ) looked at the face of his son Abu Hudhayfah. He turned pale. The Prophet (ﷺ) asked, "Perhaps you feel for your father." He replied, "By Allāh, that is not the case O Messenger of Allāh. I have no feelings for my father nor for his being killed. Rather, I knew my father all along as a wise,

¹⁰⁰ The total number of polytheists killed at Badr was seventy as mentioned earlier. It appears the others were buried in another place as stated by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath*.

patient, reasonable man. I was hopeful that he would be guided to Islam. When I saw what happened to him, and remembered that he died on disbelief, I really felt sorry for him." The Prophet ﷺ supplicated for Abu Hudhayfah in good words.¹⁰¹

After the battle was over and the prisoners had been captured, someone suggested that they now go after the trade caravan which had no one to protect. But 'Abbās ؓ said, "That won't be right." He was asked, "Why?" He replied, "Because you had been promised one of the two parties and Allāh has already given you one of them."¹⁰²

Badr battle took place on a Friday, the seventeenth of Ramadān of the second year after *Hijrah*. This is reported by Ibn Ishāq tracing it through Abu Ja'far, as well as Ibn Sa'd who traced it through other transmitters.

War Spoils

Since the injunctions regarding war spoils had not been revealed until then, differences arose over their distribution. 'Ubādah bin Sāmit reports, "We went out with the Prophet ﷺ and I was one of those present at Badr. The two forces met there and Allāh defeated the enemy. Among the Muslims, a group began to chase them and cut them down. Another group began to collect the booty. A third group remained with the Prophet ﷺ guarding him so that he was not taken unawares by the enemy. At night when they all got together, those who had collected the booty laid their exclusive claim to it. Those who had given the enemy the chase asserted on the other hand that they were no less deserving, since it was they who had annihilated the enemy. Those who had stayed behind guarding the Prophet said that they deserved no less because

¹⁰¹ Reported by Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/342) which appears to be a part of his *Hasan* reports on Badr.

¹⁰² Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (3/320/Shākir). Shākir declared its chain authentic. Ibn Kathir said in his *Tafsir* (4/13-14): "Its attribution is good." Tirmidhi however thought it was *Hasan* (4/112), being a report coming through 'Abdur-Razzāq and he through Israel.

they were guarding the Prophet ﷺ and were thus prevented from collecting the booty. Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿يَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ الْأَنْفَالِ قُلِ الْأَنْفَالُ لِلَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ فَأَتَقُوا اللَّهَ وَأَصْلِحُوا ذَاتَ بَيْنِكُمْ﴾

"They ask you concerning the booty. Say unto them, 'The booty is for Allāh and His Messenger. Fear Allāh, and improve things between yourselves.'"¹⁰³

Thereafter, the Prophet ﷺ divided the booty among the participants equally.¹⁰⁴

What can be deduced from various reports¹⁰⁵ that have come down is that a fifth was kept aside, and the rest was distributed among the fighters. 'Ali ؓ reports that one-fifth was left at the disposal of the Prophet ﷺ, following Allāh's commandment.

The Prophet ﷺ also gave a share to each of the nine men he had either engaged in some services, or who had a good reason for

¹⁰³ *Surat An-Anfāl*: 1. See its explanation in *At-Tabari* (13/367-371/Shākir). It is stated therein that the report has come through reliable sources. Ibn Ishāq mentioned through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (2/344) that this *Āyah* was revealed, according to 'Ubādah bin Sāmit ؓ, in connection with the participants of Badr when they differed between themselves over the spoils of war. Hākim treated it as authentic, as did Dhahabi as found in *Al-Mustadrak* and *Talkhis*. The *Hadith* was also documented by Ahmad in *Al-Musnad*, *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (14/72) with the same chain as that of Ibn Ishāq about which Sā'āti said that the chain was good enough.

Sa'd bin Mu'adh ؓ has mentioned the race for the spoils between Muslims as reported by Ibn Ishāq.

¹⁰⁴ Reported by Ahmad in the *Musnad* which Sā'āti thought was through a reliable chain as in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (14/73). He also quoted Tirmidhi, Hākim, Dhahabi as trusting it. As regards its distribution equally between them, this was mentioned by Ibn Ishaq through a Good (*Hasan*) chain—Ibn Hishām (2/344). It was also preserved by Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih* as mentioned in *Al-Mawārid*, p. 410, as well as Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (2/135-136) where he said, "This is a reliable report meeting the conditions of Muslim although the two did not record it." Dhahabi however was silent over the remark. Bayhaqi also recorded in *Sunan* (6/292).

¹⁰⁵ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/185/H. 4003).

failing to participate. One of those who was given a share was 'Uthmān bin 'Affān ؓ. He couldn't participate because he was attending his wife and the Prophet's daughter Ruqayyah ؓ who was sick.¹⁰⁶

War spoils were distributed in the Safra' region during the return journey. As for the prisoners, they were taken to Madinah.¹⁰⁷ Zayd bin Hārithah and 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah were sent to Madinah in advance. The Madinans received the news with joy mixed with incredulity. Usāmah bin Zayd said, "By Allāh. I didn't believe it until I saw the prisoners with my eyes."¹⁰⁸ Sawdah ؓ was so amazed when she saw Suhayl bin 'Amr with his hands tied to his neck that she taunted him, "O Abu Yazid. Did you just give yourself up? Couldn't you fight to death?" The Prophet ﷺ interjected, "Are you inciting people against Allāh and His Messenger?" She replied, "O Messenger of Allāh, when I saw Abu Yazid in that condition, his hands tied to his neck, I couldn't hold my peace."¹⁰⁹

Prisoners

The Prophet ﷺ consulted his Companions over the prisoners. Abu Bakr ؓ said that they could accept ransom from them and set them free. His point was that the wealth thus acquired would

¹⁰⁶ See Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (8/101/Shākir) with a reliable report. See also the names of some of the Companions who stayed behind for some legitimate reasons, and were counted as participants at Badr in the *Marwīyyāt Ghazwah Badr* by Bāwazir, pp. 420-424.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/346).

¹⁰⁸ Reported by Bayhaqi as in Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/334). Dr. 'Umari declared its chain as authentic in his book *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*, p. 56, ch. *Jihād*; Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/217-18) who also declared it trustworthy; Ibn Abu Shaybah *Disconnected (Mursal)* (14/368) and Ibn Ishāq (2/345), through an *Interrupted (Munqati')* chain.

¹⁰⁹ Reported by Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (2/348-349) via a *Mursal* chain. Hākim however, recorded the entire chain in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/22) remarking, "Authentic by Muslim's standards although the two did not record it." Dhahabi agreed with him. Suhayl bin 'Amr is, by the way, a brother of Sakrān bin 'Amr, Sawdah's husband before the Prophet ﷺ married her. He died in Makkah after his return from the emigration to Abyssinia.

strengthen the Muslims and weaken the disbelievers. Also, Allāh (ﷻ) might guide them to Islam. However, 'Umar thought ؓ that they should all be killed. For they were chiefs of the pagans. The Prophet ﷺ himself was inclined towards Abu Bakr's opinion. But the Qur'ān came down agreeing with 'Umar's opinion. It said,

﴿مَا كَانَتْ لِنَبِيِّ أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ أُسْرَىٰ حَتَّىٰ يَشِخَرَ فِي الْأَرْضِ تُرِيدُونَ عَرَصَ الدُّنْيَا وَاللَّهُ يُرِيدُ الْآخِرَةَ وَاللَّهُ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ ١٧﴾
لَمَسَّكُمْ فِي مَا أَخَذْتُمْ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ

"And it is not for any Prophet that he should have captives before he has inflicted a massacre in the land. You desire the chance goods of the world, but Allāh desires the Hereafter. And Allāh is All-Mighty, All-Wise. If not for a writing of Allāh preceding, surely, a terrible chastisement would have touched you for what you took."¹¹⁰

The revelation ended with,

﴿فَكُلُوا مِمَّا غَنِمْتُمْ حَلَالًا طَيِّبًا وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ﴾

"Partake now (freely), of what you have secured of the spoils: lawful, goodly. And fear Allāh. Verily, Allāh is All-Forgiving, All-Kind."¹¹¹

In early Islam acceptance of ransom was allowed. Thereafter, it was left to the choice of the leader of the Muslims. Either he killed, accepted ransom or set the prisoners free at no cost. And, of course, women and children were not to be killed in any case—so long as they did not participate in the fighting.¹¹² Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿فَإِذَا لَقِيتُمُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا فَضَرْبَ الرِّقَابِ حَتَّىٰ إِذَا أَتَخْتَمُوهُمْ فَشُدُّوا الْوَتَاكَ فَإِمَّا مَأْبُودٌ وَإِمَّا فَدَاءٌ حَتَّىٰ تَضَعَ الْحَرْبُ أَوْزَارَهَا﴾

¹¹⁰ Surat *Al-Anfāl*: 67-68. See its explanation and the reasons behind its revelation in *At-Tabari* (14/68), being a transmission of Ibn Mas'ūd ؓ through a *Hasan* chain.

¹¹¹ *Muslim* (3/1385/H. 1763).

¹¹² Ibn Qudāmah: *Al-Mughni* (8/372-374).

"So, when you meet those who disbelieve, strike at (their) necks until when you have inflicted heavy slaughter on them, secure their bonds, and either (confer) favor thereafter, or (accept) ransom until the war lays down its burden."¹¹³

The amount of ransom varied. For those who could afford it was 4000 dirhams.¹¹⁴ Of those who paid this sum, Abu Wadā'ah was one. 'Abbās paid 100 ounces of silver.' 'Aqil bin Abu Tālib had to pay 80 ounces, which 'Abbās did on his behalf. However, others paid only 40 ounces each.¹¹⁵

The Prophet ﷺ granted freedom at no cost to 'Amr bin Abu Sufyān in return for Sa'd bin Nu'mān bin Ukkāl whom Abu Sufyān had captured while he was performing 'Umrah.¹¹⁶

Those who could not pay the ransom amount but knew how to read and write were asked to teach the *Ansār* children the art. Ahmad¹¹⁷ has reported through Ibn 'Abbās ؓ who said, "There were some prisoners at Badr who were not asked to pay any

¹¹³ *Surat Muhammad*: 4.

¹¹⁴ Haythami: *Al-Majma'* (6/90) with a remark that Tabarāni documented it through trustworthy transmitters in connection with the story of Abu Wadā'ah whose son paid a ransom of four thousand dirhams to free him. Ibn Hishām said in his additional notes to the *Sirat* (2/371) without a chain that the ransom for release of a polytheist varied from one thousand to four thousand dirhams, except when someone had nothing to pay. Such of them the Prophet ﷺ released without ransom. This was recorded by 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/206) and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/139-140/H. 6291) with a slight difference. The chain has Abu Qanbas who was Acceptable (*Maqbul*), as in *At-Taqrīb* (p. 662). It is also in Tabarāni in his *Al-Kabir* (11/406-407) and *Al-Awsat* through reliable transmitters. It is supported by "...The ransom amount for each of the prisoners was four thousand." Thus the narrative acquires the Good (*Hasan*) status as noted by the two redactors of *Ibn Hishām* (2/371).

¹¹⁵ Reported by Abu Nu'aym in his *Dalā'il* (2/476-477) through a *Hasan* chain as remarked by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/192).

¹¹⁶ Reported by Ibn Ishaq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/357-358).

¹¹⁷ *Al-Musnad* (4/47/H. 2216/Shākir). Shākir said its chain is *Sahih*. The chain has 'Ali bin 'Āsim bin Suhayb Wasti, Shaykh of Imam Ahmad. He was reliable but quite often committed errors. Shākir however thought he was

ransom. Instead, the Prophet ﷺ ordered that they teach the *Ansār* children how to read and write. One of the children went back home crying. His father asked him the reason and the child said his master had beaten him. The father said, 'The rascal is filled with hatred on account of Badr. By God, don't go to him any more.'"

Some prisoners were allowed to pay the sum they could afford. For instance, Zaynab, the Prophet's daughter, who was still in Makkah, sent her necklace as ransom for her husband Abul-'Ās bin Rabi'. The necklace was returned and the man was set free because of his relationship with the Prophet ﷺ.¹¹⁸ A few others who could not afford to pay anything, were also released by the Prophet ﷺ, some way or the other. Muttalib bin Hantab Makhzumi, Sayfi bin Abu Rifā'ah and Abu 'Izzah the poet¹¹⁹ were some of those who were released without payment of any ransom.

There was every possibility that all of them would have gained freedom without having to pay anything. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Had Mut'im bin 'Adi been alive today and spoken to me about these prisoners, I would have released them all for his sake."¹²⁰ This was in return of the protection that he had provided the Prophet ﷺ during his visit to Tā'if as well as for his role in tearing down the boycott document.

When one of the *Ansār* suggested that they release 'Abbās for nothing, the Prophet ﷺ remarked, "By Allāh. Don't concede a dirham."¹²¹ This was despite the fact that 'Abbās was at heart a Muslim and that he had been forced to join the pagans at Badr.¹²²

unconditionally trustworthy. See *Al-Musnad* (1/303), in whose chain falls Dāwud bin Abu Hind who has a remark on him.

¹¹⁸ *Al-Musnad*: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (14/100), *Al-Sā'āti* said: Its chain is *Sahih*, and Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/359).

¹¹⁹ Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/268-269).

¹²⁰ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/194/H. 2024).

¹²¹ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/191/H. 4018).

¹²² Tabari reported it in his *Tafsir* (14/73/Shākir). Dr. 'Umari said its chain is Good (*Hasan*): *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Jihād*, p. 55, footnote 4. Ibn Hajar said: "Ibn Ishāq reported as a narrative of Ibn 'Abbās, to the effect that the Prophet ﷺ said: 'O 'Abbās, redeem yourself.' 'Abbās replied: 'I was a believer but my

However, a few of the prisoners were killed on the way back to Madinah. One of them was Nadr bin Hārith. He was executed by 'Ali at Safra'. 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ayt was killed at 'Irquz-Zubyah. 'Āsim bin Thābit¹²³ executed him. Some say 'Ali¹²⁴ executed him. The third to be killed was Tu'aymah bin 'Adi. These three were killed because of their extreme enmity to the Prophet ﷺ. 'Uqbah, although originally a Jew,¹²⁵ had attached himself to the Quraysh. He was a haughty proud man. The turn of events had humbled him. He asked the Prophet ﷺ, seeking mercy, "Who will take care of (my) children?" The Prophet ﷺ answered, "Fire."¹²⁶

And Tabarāni has reported through a trustworthy chain of narrators through Ibn 'Abbās, and from whom Shāmi quoted in his *Subul*, that the Prophet ﷺ got Tu'aymah bin 'Adi killed while held as a prisoner.

As for the rest of the prisoners, they were treated well¹²⁷ on the Prophet's order. Abu 'Aziz, Mus'ab bin 'Umayr's brother reports

people forced me (into this battle)," *Al-Fath* (15/192). Ibn Ishāq also confirms the Islam of 'Abbās — *Ibn Hishām* (2/351-352) via a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain insisting on having himself heard it, nevertheless, the chain has Husayn bin 'Abdullah whose dependability has been questioned.

¹²³ Ibn Ishāq without a chain — *Ibn Hishām* (2/347).

¹²⁴ *Ibn Hishām* (2/347) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain. It is stated that the Verse: "And (remember) the Day when the wrongdoer will bite at his hands and say, 'Oh! Would that I had taken a path with the Messenger. Woe unto me! Would that I had never taken so-and-so as a friend,'" (*Al-Furqān*:27), was revealed in reference to him. Ibn Jarir reported Ibn 'Abbās that Ubaiy bin Khalaf used to visit the Prophet ﷺ. Once when 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ayt chided him this Verse was revealed: "When the wrongdoer will bite at his hand..." till "... He indeed led me astray from the Reminder." He said the wrongdoer was 'Uqbah, and "so-and-so" was Ubaiy bin Khalaf. See Ibn Kathir: *The Tafsir* (6/116), footnote 5. Ibn Kathir said at that point, "Whether it was revealed in connection with 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ayt or not, its application is general."

¹²⁵ See Suhayli: *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (3/53) where he mentioned that he was originally Jewish of the Saffuriyya.

¹²⁶ Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (6/89): "Tabarāni recorded in his *Al-Kabir* as well as *Al-Awsat* whose transmitters are those of the *Sahih* (works). See *Al-Kabir* (11/406-407/H. 12154).

¹²⁷ This was documented by Tabarāni in his books: *Al-Mu'jam As-Saghir* and

that while he was a prisoner among the *Ansār*, they used to offer him bread at lunch and dinner while they themselves ate dates following the Prophet's instruction that they be treated well. Sometimes, if a piece of bread reached the hands of one of his custodians, they would return it to him. He would feel ashamed and return it but they wouldn't touch it,¹²⁸ letting him eat it.

No surprise then that many of the prisoners turned Muslim during the coming years, both before and after the Makkan victory. 'Abbās, 'Aqil bin Abu Tālib, Nawfal bin Hārith bin 'Abdul-Muttalib, Khālid bin Hishām, 'Abdullah bin Sā'ib, Muttalib bin Hantab bin Hārith, Abu Wadā'ah Hārith bin Subayrah, Hajjāj bin Hārith bin Qays, 'Abdullah bin Abu Ibn Khalaf, Wahb bin 'Umayr, Suhayl bin 'Amr, 'Abd bin Zam'ah, Qays bin Sā'ib, Nistās the freed slave of Umaiyah bin Khalaf and others were those of the prisoners who embraced Islam.¹²⁹

Badr was an important event in the annals of Islamic history. The Qur'ān called it the day of *Furqān* — the day when truth and falsehood came to be distinguished. The *Ahadith* speak of high ranks in Paradise for those who participated in this battle. Bukhāri has a whole chapter on the superiority of those who participated in it. One of the reports is about Hārithah bin Surāqah who was struck by an arrow in that battle. He was then just a boy. His mother came asking the Prophet ﷺ where her son would be on the Day of Judgement. The Prophet ﷺ gave her the news that he was amidst gardens in *Firdaws Paradise*.¹³⁰

We also have the story of Hātib bin Abu Balta'ah who wrote to the Quraysh just before the Makkan expedition informing them of the Prophet's intention. Revelation informed the Prophet ﷺ of his action. But he forgave him and told 'Umar bin Khāttab, when he

Al-Mu'jam Al-Kabir as Haythami in his book *Al-Majma'* (6/86). Haythami said: "Its chain is *Hasan*."

¹²⁸ Reported by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain — *Ibn Hishām* (2/349-350).

¹²⁹ *Ar-Rawdul-Unuf* (3/125), *Uyunul-Athar* (1/387), and see their biographies in *Al-Isābah*, *Al-Isti'āb* and *Usdul-Ghābah* and other biography works.

¹³⁰ *Al-Fath* (15/171/H. 3982).

demanded that he be killed, "Allāh looked upon those who participated at Badr and said, 'Do as you wish, Paradise is yours,' or, He said, 'for, I have forgiven you.'"

When one of the slaves owned by Hātib said, "O Messenger of Allāh. Hātib will enter into the Fire." He replied, "You have lied. He will never enter into it for he participated in the battles of Badr and Hdaybiyah."¹³¹

Obviously, the results at Badr had a deep effect on the Madinan population as well as those around. The believers now felt greater confidence in dealing with the Jews and pagans. The Jews felt mortified and began to evince greater enmity towards Islam. It finally led to the deportation of the Banu Qaynuqa' from Madinah.

As for those who were clean-hearted, the results opened their eyes and they embraced Islam. Some, however, decided to wear the veil of hypocrisy, for reasons of their own. They were led by 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy bin Salul who remarked, "This is something that has happened."¹³² We can't change the course of events now."¹³³

Some of those Jews whose hypocrisy came to be exposed were: Zayd bin Lasit, Rāfi' bin Huraymilah, Rifā'ah bin Zayd bin Tābut, Suwayd bin Hārith, Sa'd bin Hunayf, Nu'mān bin Awfa bin 'Amr, his brother 'Uthmān bin Awfa, Silsilah bin Yarhām and Kinānah bin Suriya.

And some of those Madinans whose hypocrisy got exposed were: Zuwaiy bin Hārith, Julās bin Suwayd, his brother Hārith bin Suwayd, Nabtāl bin Hārith, Mirba' bin Qayzi, his brother Aws bin Qayzi, Hātib bin Umaiyah bin Rafi', Bushayr bin Ubayriq Abu Tu'mah and Quzmān.

¹³¹ It is in *Muslim* too—*An-Nawawi* (16/55). In his dealing with the story of Tha'labah and his procrastination to pay *Zakāt*, Bāwazir spent some four pages to conclude that the one alluded to in the story was Tha'labah bin Abu Hātib and not Tha'labah bin Hātib, the one who participated at Badr. In addition, the chain of transmission of this story is weak and altogether unworthy of attention.

¹³² Being a report documented by *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (17/94/H. 4566).

¹³³ See reports of his enmity to Islam, and of his hypocrisy in *Al-Bukhārī* and *Ibn Hajar Al-Fath* (17/93-94/H. 4566). See also *Ibn Ishaq* through a *Hasan*

Of the above, some of the Jews and Madinans subsequently became true Muslims but others died on hypocrisy. We shall later mention those who became true Muslims in a few years.¹³⁴

Lessons

The event of Badr brought many lessons and some new rules. A few important ones are:

1. It is allowable to harass the enemy by attacking and killing its men, confiscating their property, and threatening them with the closure of the routes in order to weaken them materially and morally.
2. It is allowed to use spies to gather news on enemy lines.
3. The Prophet's example of consulting those of the community who were capable of giving right advice was brought to fore. This is something proven by Qur'ānic texts as well as by the example left to us by the four rightly-guided caliphs. Qur'ānic injunction is in the Verse,

﴿...وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ﴾

"...and consult them in the affairs."¹³⁵

and,

﴿وَالَّذِينَ اسْتَجَابُوا لِرَبِّهِمْ وَأَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَأَمْرُهُمْ شُورَى بَيْنَهُمْ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنْفِقُونَ﴾

"Those who responded to their Lord, established the prayers, and whose affairs are settled by consultation, and those who spend of what We have provided them."¹³⁶

chain—Ibn Hishām (2/269-270).

¹³⁴ See: *Hadhal-Habib Ya Muhibb*, pp. 189-194, where Shaykh Jazā'iri mentioned the stand taken by some towards others.

¹³⁵ *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 159. This Verse was revealed shortly after the battle of Uhud.

¹³⁶ *Surat Ash-Shura*: 38. This is a Makkan Verse which declared consultation as one of the characteristics of the Faithful.

As for the Prophetic example, we have several instances. One of them was before the battle of Uhud when he consulted his men whether they should fight from within the city or go out and face it in the open. Also, he consulted the Companions over whether he should make peace with some of the raiding parties at the time of Khandaq by offering them a third of Madinan crop. We have Abu Hurayrah's statement who said, "I have not seen a people who consulted each other more than the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ."¹³⁷

As for the four rightly-guided caliphs, we have on record 'Umar's words. He said addressing the consultative council, "If someone invited to his own leadership or to that of another, without having first consulted the Muslims, then the best thing for you is to kill him." He also said, "Whoever swore allegiance to a leader without first consulting the Muslims, has no allegiance that he is bound to, nor is there anything for that leader to claim."¹³⁸

4. Legality of duels by the permission of the commander.¹³⁹
5. Equality between an ordinary soldier and the commander, both in war as well as in peace. This was made clear by the incident involving Sawād and the Prophet ﷺ, when the Prophet ﷺ bared his stomach for Sawād to retaliate. The four rightly-guided caliphs also practiced this during their reign.
6. The permissibility of taking ransom from the prisoners or to free them without cost.
7. It is allowed to kill a prisoner before he is officially handed over to the commander as Bilāl and the *Ansār* did with Umaiyyah bin Khalaf, killing Ibn 'Awf's prisoner.

¹³⁷ Tirmidhi: The *Sunan* (5/375/H. 1767/*Tuhfatul-Ahwadhi*). The chain has been suspected but its text is almost a unanimously accepted statement of the Prophet ﷺ.

¹³⁸ These reports were mentioned by Abdur-Razzāq: *Al-Musannaf* (5/445, and the pages that follow, through a reliable chain. The redactor pointed that Bukhārī had traced reports concerning the stoning to death of the pregnant through two chains.

¹³⁹ See the details of this in *Al-Mughni* of Ibn Qudāmāh (8/367 and the pages that follow).

8. Lawfulness of the spoils of war. They are to be distributed only after a fifth has been set aside for Allāh and His Messenger.
9. Whoever killed a man gets his victim's equipment, but on condition that the slain should have been one of the fighters and not of those whose killing the Prophet ﷺ has prohibited such as, women, children, old men, etc. Another condition is that the slain should have been specifically targeted and fought. In contrast, if someone shoots an arrow at the enemy but someone else is struck, his equipment will not be the share of the shooter alone.¹⁴⁰
10. The treatment of the prisoners leads us to believe that the Prophet ﷺ used his own discretion in certain affairs. The majority of scholars who have believed in this have relied on this incident as evidence. Further, if it is allowed that the Prophet ﷺ could use his discretion to decide between alternatives, it has also to be allowed that he could commit an error, except that he wasn't allowed to continue in his error, if it occurred. Allāh (ﷻ) corrected the Prophet ﷺ immediately. When such things happened, a Qur'ānic Verse came down, and if it didn't, it meant Allāh's Will coincided with the Prophet's.
11. The fundamental rule about wars is that the Muslims should prepare themselves fully. Allāh (ﷻ) said, "*And prepare yourselves for them, so far as possible, with force and steeds of war...*" It is another thing that Allāh will help His forces with victory, if they deserved it as in the case of Badr where angels came down for help, or Allāh sent sleep over the fighters to renew their vigor as well as He sent rain for relief.
12. Allāh (ﷻ) warned the believers that their love of wealth should play no role in their religious decisions, no matter what their economic condition was. Accordingly, Allāh chided them over their opinion concerning the spoils of war and their decision about the prisoners which was influenced by their extreme condition of want. He said,

¹⁴⁰ See the details of this in the same reference, pp. 387-391, chapter 8.

﴿يَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ الْأَنْفَالِ قُلِ الْأَنْفَالُ لِلَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ فَأَتَقُوا اللَّهَ وَأَصْلِحُوا ذَاتَ بَيْنِكُمْ...﴾

"They ask you about the spoils of war. Say, 'Spoils of war are for Allāh and His Messenger.' Therefore, fear Allāh, and work reform amongst yourselves..."¹⁴¹

He also said,

﴿مَا كَانَتْ لِنَبِيِّ أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ أَسْرَى... تَرِيدُونَ عَرَضَ الدُّنْيَا وَاللَّهُ يُرِيدُ الْآخِرَةَ﴾

"It was not for the Prophet that he should have captives"... until ... "you wish for the gains of this world whereas Allāh wishes for the Hereafter."^{142, 143}

13. On the Day of Judgement, the people of Badr would be the forgiven ones. As for this world, they were to be punished if they committed a crime, such as it happened in case of Qudāmah bin Maz'ūn who was punished for drinking wine.
14. It is a Prophetic practice to stay at the place of victory for three days after the battle.
15. It is *Sunnah* to bury the martyrs at the place of their fall. As it happened with the martyrs of Badr and Uhud. And it is not necessary that the burial prayer be performed as it was not done at Uhud. As for the martyrs of Badr, it is not known if the Prophet ﷺ performed their burial prayer or not.¹⁴⁴
16. A few true heroes emerged at Badr. One of them was Abu

¹⁴¹ Surat Al-Anfal: 1.

¹⁴² Surat Al-Anfal: 67.

¹⁴³ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 176-178.

¹⁴⁴ We have taken this summary of Islāmic rulings arising out of the battle of Badr from Dr. Ahmad Bāwazir's book: *Marwīyyāt Ghazwa Badr*, pp. 439-447, modifying it slightly to suit our own approach to rulings of jurisprudence.

'Ubaydah 'Āmir bin Jarrah who killed his father Jarrah on that day. His father made several attempts to engage himself with Abu 'Ubaydah. Initially Abu 'Ubaydah tried to avoid facing his father. But when the father came on his son persistently, he killed him. Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿لَا تَجِدُ قَوْمًا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ يُوَادُّونَ مَنْ حَادَّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ...﴾

"You will not find a people who believe in Allāh and the Hereafter befriending those who are in confrontation with Allāh and His Messenger..."^{145, 146}

Ibn Ishāq has reported Abu 'Aziz bin 'Umayr: "My brother Mus'ab bin 'Umayr was present while a man of the *Ansār* was taking me captive. He said, "Secure him well. His mother is a rich woman. She might ransom him from you." Ibn Hishām adds that when Mus'ab bin 'Umayr said that to Abu Yasar, the captor of his brother, Abu 'Aziz protested, "My brother. Is this your recommendation about me?" Mus'ab answered, "He (the captor) is my brother and not you."¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Surat Al-Mujādilah: 22.

¹⁴⁶ Reported by Tabarāni with a good chain coming from 'Abdullah bin Shawdhab as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah* (2/252-253).

Ibn Hajar has said in his *Tālkhisul-Habir* (4/113) that Hākim and Bayhaqi recorded it as a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report through 'Abdullah bin Shawdhab. So did Nasa'i in *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/127) remarking that this is a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report. Ibn 'Asākir also used it in his *Tārikh* (*Tahdhib Tārikh Dimashq Al-Kabir*, 7/161, ed. 'Abdul-Qādir Badrān, Dar Al-Sirah), without any remark. At the end of the discussion he said, "Mufaddal bin Ghassān has said that Wāqidi rejected the claim that Abu 'Ubaydah made into Islam, as well as rejected the opinion of the Syrian scholars that Abu 'Ubaydah met his father in the battle and killed him." He added, "I asked men from the Banu Fihir, one of them being Zufar bin Muhammad, and others and he answered that his father died before the advent of Islam." The story was also recorded by Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (3/265) who remained silent over its status, as did Dhahabi.

¹⁴⁷ Ibn Hishām (2/349), and Ibn Ishāq's chain is Interrupted (*Munqati*). Ibn Hishām did not attribute his narrative.

Events and Expeditions between Badr and Uhud

The Affair of 'Asma' bint Marwān

'Asma' was one of those who used to insult the Prophet ﷺ, revile Islam and provoke people to violence. She also produced some satire. When those poetical pieces reached the Prophet ﷺ, he said, "Will not someone take care of this woman for my sake?" 'Umayr bin 'Adi Khatmi, who was of the same tribe as her husband, visited her at night in her house. She had her children around her, one of whom she was suckling. He took her by her hand, released the child – because 'Umayr was blind – and then struck her with his sword. Then he attended the morning prayers with the Prophet ﷺ. He asked him, "Did you kill Marwān's daughter?" He replied, "Yes." The Prophet ﷺ said, "You have helped Allāh and His Messenger, O 'Umayr."¹ 'Umayr asked, "Is there any penalty on me for this?" The Prophet ﷺ replied, "Two goats will not lock horns over this affair."² The Prophet ﷺ was the first to use such a phrase.

¹ Reported by Ibn Ishāq – *Ibn Hishām* (4/379), through a chain about which he did not mention clearly whether he himself heard. It is part of a report narrated in connection with the death of 'Asma', and so is weak. However it obtains strength from the trustworthy narrative in *Abu Dāwud* as in the following footnote.

² Ibid. It was also documented by Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (4/528-29/The Book of *Hudud*, rulings on those who insulted the Prophet ﷺ. He follows

Subsequently the Prophet ﷺ named 'Umayr as *Basir* (the seeing). This incident took place on the 25th of Ramadān, nineteen months after *Hijrah*, almost immediately after the battle of Badr.

Moved by the power of Islam, several of the Banu Khatmah embraced Islam, and several of those who had until then concealed their faith, pronounced it openly.³

The Prophet's Expedition to Banu Sulaym and Ghatafān at Kudr

It wasn't but seven days at Madinah that the Prophet ﷺ started off for Banu Sulaym. That was in Shawwāl of the second year after *Hijrah*. He reached their waters: the place known as Kudr. He stayed there for three days before returning, without a fight.⁴ The reason for the journey to this place was that he had learnt that a group of people from Sulaym and Ghatafān were planning to attack the Muslims.

Attempt to assassinate the Prophet ﷺ⁵

One day 'Umayr bin Wahb and Safwān bin Umaiyah spoke between themselves about what had befallen them at Badr. 'Umayr

a chain other than that of Ibn Ishāq through a chain that is Connected and its transmitters reliable as ruled Ibn Hajar in *Bulugh Al-Marām* (2/241). Nasa'i has also collected this report in his *Sunan* (7/107-108) as well as Tabarāni in his *Kabir*.

³ See the story as reported in books of campaigns, such as of Ibn Ishāq: who did not clearly mention hearing the report himself—*Ibn Hishām* (4/377-379) who states that her killing took place after the killing of Abu 'Afak. See also *Al-Wāqidi* (1/172) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/27) without a chain.

⁴ Reported by Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/64); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/182-183); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/131) without a chain. Most probably it is a narrative of his teacher Wāqidi. Wāqidi has it as Qarāratul-Kudr. Ibn Sa'd said, "This is the campaign in which Yasar was taken prisoner. He fell in the share of the Prophet ﷺ. He found him praying and so freed him.

⁵ The story of this conspiracy was mentioned by Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (2/371-374). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Isābah* (3/37): "Narrated by Musa bin 'Uqbah in his *Maghāzi*, and

told Safwān that if not for debts on him and the fear that his family will suffer wants after him, he would have taken a ride to Madinah and killed Muhammad. Safwān jumped on the chance. He promised to pay up his debts and consider his family as his by looking after them if he killed Muhammad or something ill happened to him. The agreement was kept secret.

When 'Umayr arrived at Madinah, 'Umar ؓ felt suspicious. He took him to the Prophet ﷺ. The Prophet ﷺ asked him to give the true reason of his visit. He swore he had come to seek the release of his son Wahb. When he insisted on his version, the Prophet ﷺ told him the truth of the story. He told him of the agreement between him and Safwān at Makkah. 'Umayr was amazed. He embraced Islam there and then. The Prophet ﷺ handed him over to his Companions and asked them to instruct him in Islam. He also ordered them to release his son.

The Prophet ﷺ allowed him to return to Makkah to invite others to Islam with the same conviction with which he used to invite to disbelief. It is said that quite a few embraced Islam following 'Umayr's efforts.

Abu 'Afak's Affair

When the Prophet ﷺ ordered Hārith bin Suwayd bin Thābit be killed, Abu 'Afak's hypocrisy came to light. He was one of the 'Amr bin Awf tribe. He said some poetical pieces in favor of Hārith bin Suwayd whom the Prophet ﷺ had ordered killed. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Who will take care of this dirty man for me?" Sālim bin 'Umayr went out and killed the man. That was in Shawwāl, twenty months after *Hijrah*.⁶

Aswad through 'Urwah through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain, as also Ibn Mandah, through a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain who said, 'An Unfamiliar (*Gharib*) report. We do not know this report through Ibn 'Imrān except by this chain.' Tabarāni said: 'We know it only through Anas bin Mālik.'" And the narration of Aswad and Ibn 'Uqbah is in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (3/147-149).

⁶ Ibn Ishāq reported it through a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/376-377), as also Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah* (4/238) also *Mu'allaq*, and *Al-*

The Expedition to Banu Qaynuqa'

(a) The Date

Most of the biographers and historians have said that this expedition took place after the battle of Badr. Ibn Hajar⁷ prefers this opinion depending upon the report of Ibn 'Abbās in Abu Dāwud.⁸ He evaluated the report as Good (*Hasan*) and sought strength in another report of 'Ubādah bin Walid as found in Ibn Ishāq.⁹ Zuhri¹⁰ further said that it took place in Shawwāl of the second year after *Hijrah*. Wāqidi¹¹ and Ibn Sa'd¹² have even fixed the day as Saturday, the middle of Shawwāl.

(b) Reasons

Biographical works say that the following were the reasons: First, when the Muslims emerged victorious at Badr, the Jews of Banu Qaynuqa' could not conceal their hatred and enmity of Islam and Muslims. This became evident from their attitude towards the Prophet ﷺ when he gathered them in the market place. He told them there, "O the Jewish people. Embrace Islam before you are struck by what struck the Quraysh at Badr." They replied, "Muhammad. Don't be encouraged by the fact that you killed a bunch of Quraysh who didn't know how to fight. If you happen to meet with us in the battle-field, you'll know that we are men, and that you haven't encountered people like us." Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

Wāqidi (1/174-175) which mentioned that he was jealous of the Prophet ﷺ at his victory at Badr; and also Ibn Sa'd (2/28) without a chain.

⁷ *Al-Fath* (15/204).

⁸ (3/402-403).

⁹ *Ibn Hishām* (3/71-72) through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain.

¹⁰ In *Tārikh* of Tabari (2/4709-80) with a *Mursal* chain.

¹¹ See *Al-Maghāzi* (1/176).

¹² *At-Tabaqāt* (2/28/29) without a chain. To summarize, these are all weak narrations but they strengthen each other raising it to the level of *Hasan* li *Ghayrihi* as said Dr. Sindi: *Marwīyyāt Tārikhi Yahudil-Madinah, fi 'Ahdin-Nubuwwah*, p. 83.

﴿قُلْ لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا سَعْتٌ لَّيْسَ لَهُمْ شُرَكَاءُ فِيهِمْ وَهُمْ يُنَادُونَ لِلَّهِ لَئِنْ أُخْرِجُوا مِنْهُ لَبُوءُوا بِفِتْنَةٍ وَإِن يُدْعَوْا إِلَى الْحِلِّ عَلَيْهِمْ لَيُقْبَلْنَ بِهِمْ وَلَوْ كَانُوا يَعْلَمُونَ﴾¹³ قَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ آيَةٌ فِي فِتْنَتِ الَّذِينَ اتَّخَذُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَأُخْرَى كَافِرَةٌ يَرَوْنَهُمْ مِثْلَهُمْ رَأَى الْعَيْنِ وَاللَّهُ يُؤَيِّدُ بِنَصَرِهِ مَن يَشَاءُ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَعِبْرَةً لِّأُولِي الْأَبْصَارِ ﴿١٤﴾

"Say to those who have disbelieved that you will be overcome and then driven to Hell-fire: an evil resting-place. There is a sign for you in the two groups that clashed. One group fighting in the way of Allāh and the other, disbelieving, seeing them twice themselves (in numbers). Allāh helps with His succor whomsoever He wills. Surely, in this is a lesson for a people of sight."¹³

A second reason was that when a Muslim lady visited their markets, one of the shopkeepers tied her garment to a peg without her knowledge. As she got up her legs were bared. She cried for help. One of the Muslims killed the Jew. Other shopkeepers attacked and killed the Muslim. Muslims began to call the help of other Muslims. That led to a confrontation between them and the Banu Qaynuqa'.¹⁴

Even if we accept Ibn Hajar's evaluation of Ibn Ishāq's report as acceptable, as stated under the first reason of Banu Qaynuqa's deportation, it doesn't mean that they were expelled because they refused to embrace Islam. Rather, during this period, Islam was comfortably co-existing with various communities around. The

¹³ *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (3/402/H. 3001) through a chain in which falls Muhammad bin Abu Muhammad, the freed-slave of Zayd bin Thābit, about whom Ibn Hajar thought in his *At-Taqrīb* that he is unknown, p. 505. Despite this he declared it *Hasan* in *Al-Fath* (15/204) as did Dhahabi in *At-Tafsir wal-Mufasssirun* (1/79). Sindi's study suggests that the narrations in this connection strengthen each other to raise them to a level of acceptance. (*Marwīyyāt Tārikhi Yahudil-Madinah, fi 'Ahdin-Nubuwwah*, p. 77). Also see: *Surat Al 'Imrān*: 12-13.

¹⁴ *Ibn Hishām* (3/70) through an unreliable chain for it stops at Abu 'Awn who was a Follower (*Tābi'i*) of young age. Further, the chain is also broken between *Ibn Hishām* and 'Abdullah bin Ja'far. See Sindi, p. 79, and 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*, p. 137, and Albāni, *Difa'*, pp. 26-27.

Madinan document had already given the Jews the right to practice their religion. The reasons for their deportation have to be looked into their continued hostility towards Islam and Muslims. That led to a lack of security in Madinah as is evidenced by what they did to the Muslim lady.¹⁵

Another reason was the machinations of Shās bin Qays of the Banu Qaynuqa'. He passed by a group of Aws and Khazraj Muslims chatting together. The sight of them sitting together as a closely knitted group filled him with envy. He had witnessed the hatred that prevailed among them in the pre-Islamic times. He couldn't sit quiet for long. He asked a Jewish young man to join them in their company and speak of the Bu'ath battle, and what had led to the hostilities. He also instructed him to recite some poetry in favor of one or the other group to provoke them and remind them of those that were killed in that battle. Aws had emerged victorious over the Khazraj in that battle. Aws were then led by Hudhayr bin Simak Ashhali (Abu Usayd bin Hudhayr) and Khazraj by 'Amr bin Nu'mān Bayādi and both were killed in that battle.

The above is Ibn Ishāq's version. Ibn Hishām also has a narration without naming the transmitter. Tabari has reported three versions of this, two of them weak, and a third Good (*Hasan*).

(c) Siege and Deportation

The account of Banu Qaynuqa's exile has been preserved in the *Sahih*¹⁶ works of *Ahādith*. As for details, they are found in the works of Ibn Ishāq,¹⁷ Wāqidi,¹⁸ Ibn Sa'd¹⁹ and historians who followed them.

Details tell us that Banu Qaynuqa' were allies of 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy bin Salul and had proved themselves the most courageous of

¹⁵ 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*, p. 138.

¹⁶ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/203-204/H. 4028), *Sahih Muslim*: 3/1388/H. 1766).

¹⁷ *Ibn Hishām* (3/70-72) with a *Mursal* chain but is strengthened by evidences.

¹⁸ *Al-Maghāzī* (1/176) through a weak chain.

¹⁹ *At-Tabaqāt* (2/29)

the Jews. When their enmity became apparent, the Prophet ﷺ feared treachery on their part. So, he returned to them their pledge of peace following Allāh's commandments for such a situation. It said,

﴿وَأِمَّا تَخَافُ مِنْ قَوْمٍ خِيَانَةً فَانْزِلْ إِلَيْهِمْ عَلَى سَوَاءٍ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ
الْخَائِنِينَ﴾

"If you fear treachery on part of a people, then throw back their covenant to them in parity. Surely, Allāh does not approve of the treacherous."²⁰

The Prophet ﷺ laid siege to their forts which lasted fifteen days. When things became difficult for them, they came down on the Prophet's judgement, and that they shall keep their wealth, women and children. So he ordered that they be tied up. At that moment 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy appeared on the scene and began to plead for them saying, "Four hundred unarmored and three hundred armored, who defended me against whites and blacks! Will you make a game of them in half a day?" The Prophet ﷺ told him, "You can have them,"²¹ and ordered that they be deported from Madinah. He made 'Ubādah bin Sāmit in charge of the affair of their departure. They went away to Adhri'āt (a place in Shām). Their properties were given to the charge of Muhammad bin Maslamah. And, after a fifth was removed for the Prophet ﷺ, they were distributed among the Companions.²²

It is noteworthy that their ally 'Ubādah bin Sāmit had disowned them when they confronted the Prophet ﷺ. It was about him and 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy that the following Verse was revealed,

²⁰ *Surat Al-Anfāl*: 58.

²¹ *Ibn Ishāq—Ibn Hishām* (3/70-71) reported it through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain; *Al-Wāqidi* (177-178), and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/92) without a chain but having the Verse. Ibn Salul's attachment to the Banu Qaynuqa' has been mentioned in two reports of Ibn Ishāq, but both weak, for both stop at 'Āsim and 'Ubādah. Nevertheless, each of them strengthens the other to go up to the *Hasan li Ghayrihi* status. Further, the fact that they are mentioned by the biographers and war chroniclers, adds on to the strength. This Sindi said, p. 96.

²² *Ibn Sa'd* (2/92) without a chain.

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَىٰ أَوْلِيَاءَ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ . . .﴾

"O believers. Do not take the Jews and Christians as your bosom friends. They are true friends unto each other."²³

Lessons and Rules

1. The incident laid bare the Jews' hatred of Islam and their habit of stabbing at the back whenever they got the chance.
2. During this incident, when he pleaded as he did, as well as on many other occasions, 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy's evil role came to light. He was always there to cause trouble, spread mischief, publish rumors and create dissension among the Muslims. These were clear signs of his hypocrisy. Nevertheless, the Prophet ﷺ always dealt with him as if he was a Muslim. The scholars therefore have deducted the rule that for all practical purposes hypocrites should be treated as Muslims leaving their secrets to Allāh Who will deal with them suitably on the Day of Judgement. Another evidence is 'Umar's words, "There were people who were criticized by the revelation during the Prophet's time. The revelation has now stopped. We shall now deal with them according to what we observe of them. Whosoever proves that there is good in him, we shall bring him closer to ourselves. As for his secrets, we do not go after them. Allāh will take account of their secrets. As for him who evinced evil, we shall not trust him and not believe him, even if he says that his intentions were good."²⁴

²³ Surat Al-Mā'idah: 51-52. The story was reported by Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (Mursal) chain—Ibn Hishām (3/71-72) that is strengthened by supporting evidences, e.g., Ibn Jarir's report in his *Tafsir* (6/275) through a weak chain for there falls in it 'Atiyyah bin Sa'd who dropped the name of the Companion before him and would not declare whom he heard from. Or, Ibn Marduwayh in his *Tafsir*, narrating through 'Ubādah bin Walid and he through his father, and he through his grandfather 'Ubādah, where it is stated that it was revealed with reference to him. This is stated in Suyuti's *Ad-Durrul-Manthur* (2/291).

²⁴ Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath (11/67-68/H. 2641).

And the wisdom in dealing with the hypocrites at face value, and, according to their claims, is that people in general should be prevented from playing with the rules and with other people's lives, especially, if room is allowed. The rulers of all times will accuse those they dislike of hypocrisy, and persecute innocent people.²⁵

3. Very close friendship with the non-Muslims is not allowed. Rather, they should be disowned, unless the Muslims are too weak on their own, and are forced to take them as allies. Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿لَا يَتَّخِذِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الْكَافِرِينَ أَوْلِيَاءَ مِنْ دُونِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَمَنْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ فَلَيْسَ مِنَ اللَّهِ فِي شَيْءٍ إِلَّا أَنْ تَتَّقُوا مِنْهُمْ تُقْلَةً﴾

"Believers do not take the disbelievers as bosom friends apart from believers. Whoever did that, is on nothing from Allāh, except when taking precaution against them in prudence."²⁶

Sawiq Expedition

On the fifth of Dhul-Hijjah, twenty-two months after *Hijrah*, Abu Sufyān came close to the outskirts of Madinah leading two hundred horsemen. He sought the help of Banu Nadir. Then he came down from the 'Uraid side – a Madinan valley along the Harrah mountains—and, after killing two persons and burning some date-palm trees, retreated hastily. When the Muslims came to know about what had happened, they rushed out in chase going up to Qarqaratul-Kudr but could not lay their hands on him. On the way they picked up lots of sacks filled with flour (*Sawiq* in Arabic) that Abu Sufyān's party had relieved themselves of in order to decrease their weight. When they returned along with the Prophet ﷺ they asked him, "Do you think this will be counted as an expedition in the way of Allāh?" He said yes and it was named "Expedition of the Flour (*Ghazwatus-Sawiq*)."²⁷

²⁵ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 182-183.

²⁶ Surat Āl 'Imrān: 28. See the details of this case story in *Al-Wala' wal-Bara' fil-Islam* by Muhammad bin Sa'eed Qahtāni.

²⁷ Ibn Ishāq reported it through an authentic chain—Ibn Hishām (3/65-66), but

Qarqaratul-Kudr Expedition

The Prophet ﷺ went out with two hundred men in the middle of Muharram, twenty-three months after *Hijrah*. He was prompted by the news that Banu Sulaym, Ghatfān and some other tribes were gathering themselves at Qarqaratul-Kudr. This was a watering place under the control of Banu Sulaym. Muslims were their target. When the Prophet ﷺ advanced towards them, they dispersed, leaving their cattle behind as easy booty.

A young boy called Yasār was also caught along with the cattle. The Muslims placed him in the Prophet's share who promptly released him.

Ka'b bin Ashraf's Execution

Ka'b originally belonged to Banu Nabhān. They were a family from Tay'. His father had committed a murder and had sought refuge in Madinah where he allied himself with Banu Nadir and married 'Aqilah bint Abu Huqaiq. She gave birth to Ka'b.²⁸

Ka'b was a poet. Muslim victory at Badr angered him. He traveled to Makkah to incite the Quraysh to revenge. He also wrote satires ridiculing the Prophet ﷺ. When Abu Sufyān asked him, "I abjure you in the Name of Allāh, is our religion better in the sight of God or that of Muhammad?" He replied, "You are better guided than him." Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا نَصِيبًا مِّنَ الْكِتَابِ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِالْجِبْتِ وَالطَّلُوتِ
وَيَقُولُونَ لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا هَتُولَاءِ أَهْدَى مِنَ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا سَبِيلًا﴾

Disconnected (*Mursal*). Tabari also recorded in his *Tārikh* (2/484) taking it from Ibn Ishāq through the same chain. However he recorded it as 'Abdullah bin Ka'b in place of 'Abdullah—*Al-Wāqidi* (1/181); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/30-31) without a chain and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/378) who however maintains that it was the Qarqaratul-Kudr campaign.

²⁸ See Ibn Hajar/*Al-Fath* (5/209/*Maghāzi*, ch. *Qatl Ka'b bin Ashraf*). See also Ibn Ishāq through a *Mursal* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/74-75); and Tabari in *Tārikh* (2/488).

"Have you seen a people that were given a portion of the Book?
They believe in magic and Satan and say to the disbelievers,
'These are better guided than the believers.'"²⁹

Upon his return to Makkah he began to produce indecent poetry against some Muslim women. The Prophet ﷺ declared his blood lawful. Muhammad bin Maslamah and Abu Nā'ilah volunteered to finish him off. Abu Nā'ilah was Ka'b's foster brother. Ibn Maslamah laid a perfect plan for the operation. The Prophet ﷺ allowed them to say to the Jew what would not evoke his suspicion and that was to denounce him (the Prophet ﷺ) in his presence. When Ka'b showed up (as they went to his place) Abu Nā'ilah asked him to lend some dates in order to pay up to the Prophet ﷺ. While saying that, he spoke ill of the Prophet ﷺ and what difficulties he had brought on them. Ka'b demanded that they mortgage their women or children. Ibn Maslamah politely turned down Ka'b's demand, for it would bring on him shame. He proposed that he would mortgage his weapon.

Ka'b agreed. So, at night Ibn Maslamah went up to Ka'b's fort along with Abu Nā'ilah. His name was Yalkān bin Salāmah bin Waqsh. 'Abbād bin Bishr, Hārith bin Bishr and Abu 'Abs bin Jabr of the Aws were with them. They called out and he came down although his wife tried to prevent him from answering a call in that part of the night. Abu Nā'ilah walked about a little with him. One of them pretended to smell his hair and grabbed him therewith. Another struck him and they succeeded in killing him. In the confusion, one of them was injured by his companion's sword.³⁰ The man who struck him was Hārith bin Aws bin Mu'ādh as in a trustworthy report of Ibn Ishāq.

²⁹ *Surat An-Nisa'*: 51.

³⁰ This is the summary of what Bukhāri had to report *Al-Fath* (15/210/H. 4037); *Muslim* (3/1425-1426/H. 1801). The story was also reported by Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/211-212/*The Book of Jihād*) and in *Dalā'il* by Bayhaqi (3/187-200) with different attributions and from different sources; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/32-34) and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/184-193). Ibn Ishāq reported the first part of the story with a *Mursal* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/79) and (3/81-84). There are some differences between the two version of the *Sahihayn* and

When the Jews protested the killing, the Prophet ﷺ reminded them about what Ka'b had been saying and doing. Nevertheless, the action drove fear into the Jews and other pagans around. So the Prophet ﷺ offered them renewal of the peace treaty. He wrote down one covering everyone around, as recorded by Abu Dāwud.³¹ This was in line with an earlier treaty that had been penned down before the battle of Badr. It is known as the Madinan Document.³²

Ka'b was killed after Badr and before the Banu Nadir³³ expedition. Wāqidi³⁴ has said that it took place in the third month, fourteenth of Rabi'ul-Awwal, twenty-five months after *Hijrah*.

Lessons

1. Ka'b's assassination makes it allowable to kill one of the enemy by deception because of his treachery or untrustworthiness.
2. Permissibility of telling lies to the enemies and playing tricks on them, for war is a deception.
3. In the killing of a treacherous person is a lesson to others who are discouraged from following his footsteps.

that of the biographers and war chroniclers but the texts are same. See details in Ibn Hajar explaining the incident of the killing of Ka'b bin Ashraf.

³¹ *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (3/402-403) who depends on the report of the father of 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Abdullah bin Ka'b. Now, if the narrator meant his grandfather by citing his father, it could be considered Connected (*Muttasil*) whose transmitters are reliable. But, if he meant his father 'Abdullah, then it is *Mursal*, needing supporting evidences to rise up to the *Hasan li Ghayrihi* status. Nonetheless, such supporting evidence is found in Haythami's *Majma'* (6/195-196) who quotes through 'Abdullah bin Ka'b from his uncle in words similar to those of Ahmad. He declared the transmitters as reliable. The *Hadith* has other supporting evidences such as one reported by Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/196-197) through two chains. These are the supporting evidences that allow the *Hadith* to be used for scholarly purposes as said Sindi, p. 108.

³² Dr. 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*, p. 142.

³³ See Ibn Ishāq, Wāqidi, and Ibn Sa'd who mentioned it before Uhud.

³⁴ *Al-Maghāzi* (1/194).

Expedition to Dhi Amr

The Prophet ﷺ received news that the Ghatafān tribe had gathered in a place called Dhi Amr in Najd. He went out to them. But when they learnt that he was advancing towards them, they dispersed.³⁵ Wāqidi³⁶ and Ibn Sa'd³⁷ have said that those who had gathered at the waters of Dhi Amr were of the Ghatafān: precisely of the Banu Tha'labah bin Muhārib. Muslims were four hundred and fifty men. They had gone out on the 12th of Rabi'ul-Awwal in the third year after *Hijrah*. Wāqidi³⁸ has said that the day was a Thursday.

Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd have also mentioned that the incident involving Da'thur Muhāribi took place during this expedition. The story goes that rain fell on the Muslims during their return journey. The Prophet's clothes got wet. He moved out to the outer flank of the valley to remove and dry his clothes. Then he lied down under a tree. His enemies were watching him. They instigated their chieftain Da'thur to assassinate the Prophet ﷺ. He advanced with his bare sword, stood on the head of the Prophet ﷺ and asked, "Who can save you from me now?" The Prophet ﷺ replied, "Allāh." And Jibril pushed him down so that his sword fell off his hand. The Prophet ﷺ picked it up, held it against him and asked, "Who will save you from me now?" The man said, "No one." The Prophet ﷺ spared him. He became a Muslim, returned to his people and began to invite them to Islam. Allāh (ﷻ) sent down the Verses,

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا اذْكُرُوا نِعْمَتَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ هُمْ قَوْمٌ اَنْ
يَبْسُطُوا إِلَيْكُمْ أَيْدِيَهُمْ فَكَفَّ أَيْدِيَهُمْ عَنْكُمْ﴾

"O believers. Remember Allāh's blessings on you when a people intended to stretch their hands at you, then He withheld their hands from you."³⁹

³⁵ Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/68).

³⁶ *Al-Maghāzi* (1/194).

³⁷ *At-Tabaqāt* (2/34).

³⁸ *Al-Maghāzi* (1/193).

³⁹ *Surat Al-Mā'idah*: 11.

The Buhrān Expedition

The Prophet ﷺ went out with three hundred men chasing a Quraysh caravan as mentioned by Ibn Ishāq.⁴⁰ Wāqidi⁴¹ said that he had intended the Banu Sulaym. He went up to Buhrān from the Furu' side on the main trade route between Makkah and Shām. No fighting took place.

That was in Jumāda Al-Ula, twenty-seven months after *Hijrah*, as Wāqidi and his disciple Ibn Sa'd have stated.⁴²

The Qaradah Expedition

After Badr, the Quraysh were fearful of using the common trade route to Shām. They decided on a new route that went via Iraq. Accordingly, Abu Sufyān went out at the head of a caravan consisting of a large number of Makkan traders heading for Shām. It is said that they were carrying a large amount of silver with them. They hired a man from Bakr bin Wā'il called Furāt bin Haiyān as a guide. When the Prophet ﷺ got the news he dispatched Zayd bin Hārithah in their chase. He caught up with them at the waters of Najd known as Qaradah. He was able to lay his hands on the silver, but the men escaped. That was six months after the battle of Badr⁴³ being in Jumāda Ath-Thānīyah, twenty-seven months after *Hijrah*.⁴⁴

The story of Du'thur is confirmed by the *Sahihayn* although without this context and in connection with a campaign other than this, and that he did not accept Islam. What is agreed upon between the biographers and the *Sahihayn* is that Allāh protected the Prophet ﷺ from him. Obviously, what is in the *Sahih* is more correct. This story will come later in a narration by Bukhārī, Muslim, and Ibn Ishāq, while discussing the Dhātūr-Riqā' campaign.

⁴⁰ *Ibn Hishām* (3/68) without a chain, so it is weak.

⁴¹ *Al-Maghāzī* (1/196).

⁴² *At-Tabaqātul-Kubra* (2/35) without a chain, thus it is weak.

⁴³ Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/73).

⁴⁴ *Al-Wāqidi* (1/197), and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/36) whose chain is weak.

Ibn Sa'd⁴⁵ has stated that there were a hundred men in this expedition, and that the silver weighed about 30,000 dirham, worth about a hundred thousand.

When the Quraysh could not break the economic siege, they felt the need to urgently address the problem and attack Madinah. They badly needed to open the routes and regain their prestige. These factors led to the raid on Madinah and the battle at Uhud.

⁴⁵ *At-Tabaqātul-Kubra* (2/36) through a weak chain.

السيرة النبوية
في ضوء المصادر الأصلية
تأليف / الدكتور مهدي رزق الله أحمد
(باللغة الإنجليزية)

This work on the life history of the Prophet (ﷺ) stands out from other works in quite a few ways. First, every detail mentioned has been traced back to original sources, whose authenticity has been discussed extensively in the footnotes. Second, the events of the Prophet's life have been related to modern times and lessons drawn for the benefit of those who happen to face similar situations in their struggle to spread the Prophetic message.